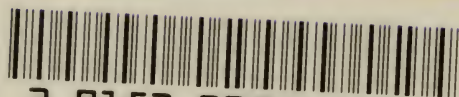


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By

EMIL LENGYEL

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Dakar: Outpost of Two Hemispheres



REVISED EDITION—1962

New York

OXFORD BOOK COMPANY

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

Until quite recently, only the Western world seemed to matter much in international relations. This meant the United States, some European countries, Russia, and one or two nations, such as Japan, outside the "magic circle." Most of Africa and Asia were regarded as passive objects for Western control, rather than as active participants in history. This attitude persisted even though Asia and Africa had a much larger population than the other continents. (Today, they account for 1.5 billion out of a total world population of 2.7 billions.)

Shortly after World War II, Asia awakened, and today it shows scarcely any vestiges of Western rule. Most of Africa, however, remained until recently under the control of Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain. Now Africa, too, is responding to the powerful force of nationalism. New nations continue to appear in rapid succession, as colonial empires dissolve. Western powers which still have possessions in Africa are making desperate efforts to retain them, in some cases by offering concessions to the insistent demands for self-government and a better life.

As Africa passes through this period of turmoil and transition, the continent becomes of greater interest and importance to the United States. We recognize that we have a major stake in maintaining cordial relations with the nations and peoples of Africa and in expanding our economic dealings with them. The activities of the Soviet Union in Africa and its undisguised hopes of gaining influence there give added urgency to our program for forging closer contacts with this continent.

It can scarcely be doubted that if the United States is to play a more positive role in Africa's future, the American people should know a great deal more about this vast area. *AFRICA IN FERMENT* represents an attempt to provide, in compact and readable form, the basic information and ideas which are needed to understand present-day developments and future probabilities. In a series of brief chapters, the pamphlet surveys the geography, history, ethnic background, economic life, and present-day status of the regions and countries of the continent. Adequate attention is given to the manifold problems of the continent, from race relations in South Africa to the economic and administrative difficulties of the newly formed states. The text is supplemented with maps, cartoons and other illustrations, and there are helpful questions and activities after each chapter.

Although designed primarily for high school classes, this pamphlet can be used effectively by college classes, adult study groups, and general readers.

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CHAPTER 1

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

A Historic Change

"Africa is the most rapidly changing area in the world today," the Vice President of the United States reported to the President after a visit to Africa early in 1957. "Africa's importance to the free world can scarcely be overestimated," stated the report of the Mutual Security Program for the fiscal year 1959.

These two statements give us a capsule characterization of Africa today. It is a continent which is going through changes of great historic importance—changes which have a major impact on all the nations of the world, including the United States.

The riches of Africa's subsoil provide the Western world with at least twenty of its most essential raw materials. Africa's great strategic importance to the United States is demonstrated by the presence of several major air and naval bases in Morocco and Libya, as well as communication facilities in Ethiopia. During World War II, the Allies launched major attacks against the Axis from African soil. It was by way of Africa, and around it, that the United States shipped vitally needed supplies to our allies. When the Suez Canal was temporarily closed in 1956, maritime traffic again made use of the route around the Cape of Good Hope.

The vast resources and strategic location of Africa are all the more important to us because the continent is now going through an historic transformation. Until recently, it was a continent of colonies, ruled by European nations—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and (earlier) Italy and Germany. But Africa has been strongly affected by a world-wide revolution, the emergence of dynamic nationalism. Today, many of the former colonies are independent states or are on the way to independence. Within the foreseeable future, most, if not all, of the remaining colonies may become self-governing nations.

More than a score of newly independent nations have emerged in Africa since the close of World War II. Geographically, they range from the extreme west, where the continent is closest to the Americas, to the farthestmost east, where it projects itself into

the Middle East. These new states include the most populous of all African nations, *Nigeria*; the former Gold Coast, renamed *Ghana*; a former UN trusteeship, *Cameroon*; and a dozen republics which until recently were French colonies. Other regions are headed for self-government in the near future, and still others are striving to win full independence.

What It Means to Us

The United States government and the American people, naturally, are interested in the far-reaching changes taking place in Africa. Our concern is all the greater because this development is occurring at a critical moment in world history—at a time when the United States and the Soviet Union are vying for world influence in the so-called *cold war*. It is our hope that the new nations of Africa will align themselves with the United States and her allies in the struggle against communist expansion. We believe that our democratic institutions and our ideal of equal rights for all men should appeal strongly to these new nations. The communists, on the other hand, are working hard to introduce their ideology and to bring the African nations into their own camp.

American interests in Africa is relatively new. Until quite recently, we paid little attention to the “Dark Continent.” The very name suggests an attitude of ignorance and indifference. But now, under the pressure of necessity, we are beginning to “discover” Africa, just as somewhat earlier we “discovered” the once politically subject lands of Asia. Obviously, our first task in developing better relations with Africa is to learn more about it. What are the physical characteristics of this vast continent? What types of people inhabit it? What relations have the Africans had with the peoples of the West? What relations should they have in the future? What can we do to bring them closer to us?

The Land of Africa

When we think of Africa, we often tend to lean heavily on some familiar stereotypes—scorching heat; wild animals; gold, diamonds, and (more recently) uranium; terrible tropical diseases; strange people, ranging from giants to pygmies; customs and institutions of a primitive kind, very different from those we know in Western Europe and the United States.



AFRICA TODAY

As this map indicates, by far the greater part of Africa today is composed of independent countries. Some of these countries are associated with France (either within the French Community or through bilateral agreements), and others are within the British Commonwealth, but they all have, or will soon have, the powers of sovereign states. The UN trusteeships have virtually been liquidated. Great Britain, Portugal, France, and Spain still hold some colonial possessions. The fate of Algeria (and of the Saharan departments, south of Algeria proper) remains to be determined.

There is a degree of truth in some of these ideas, derived largely from travel books and films. As a whole, however, they represent a vastly oversimplified picture of Africa. For one thing, the continent is so huge and diversified that no easy generalizations can even begin to describe it. Moreover, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that the people of Africa, however different their cultures and the physical conditions under which they live, are actually much like us in their basic needs.

It is a very large continent, larger than North America and exceeded in size only by Asia. Its area is about $11\frac{3}{4}$ million square miles*, more than three times the size of the United States. From north to South—Cape Bizerte in Tunisia to the Cape of Good Hope—the distance is 5000 miles; from east to west—Dakar on the Atlantic to Cape Guardafui in Somalia—the continent stretches 4500 miles.

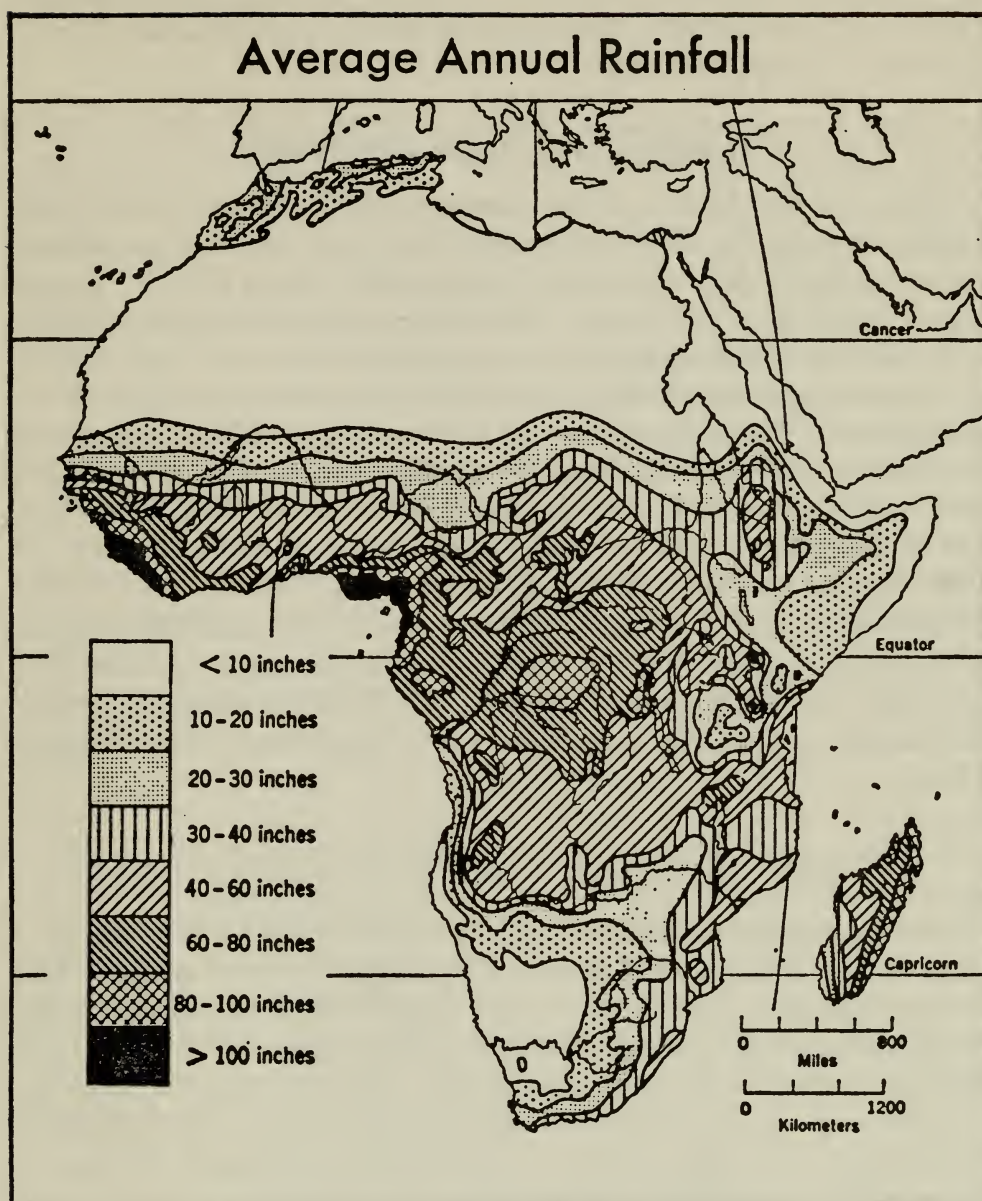
Africa is the hottest of all the continents, with about 9 million square miles within the tropics. Surprisingly, the highest temperature has not been registered anywhere near the Equator but hundreds of miles north of it—136 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade (on September 13, 1922) at a place called Azizia in today's Kingdom of Libya.

But there is also snow in Africa, much of it—and this is another surprise—on mountain tops near the Equator. The highest elevation on the continent is Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika, 19,340 feet. Most of Africa is a plateau, with an average height of about 2000 feet. The lowest place is also in Libya—436 feet below sea level.

For most of us the very name of Africa suggests vast deserts. Much of the continent does indeed consist of deserts, including the Sahara, largest of them all, with 3,500,000 square miles, about the size of the United States. In the east, the Sahara blends into the Libyan Desert, also very large, about a half million square miles. South Africa has the Kalahari Desert, measuring 120,000 square miles, between the Zambezi and Orange Rivers.

Beyond the great deserts, one usually finds a semi-arid land, or *steppes*, covered with wiry grass and thorny trees. Then there is the *savanna* region, tropical and semi-tropical grasslands which are the home of much of the wild life. It is here that moving picture people like to train their cameras. In the equatorial region

*Area and population figures in most parts of Africa are only estimates. There has been little accurate surveying and even less reliable census-taking in this part of the world.



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Note the vast desert area in the north (with less than 10 inches of rainfall annually) which separates North Africa, bordering the Mediterranean, from the interior of the continent.

is the African *jungle*, rain-soaked and suffocating with heat, like its South American counterpart. The most productive parts of the continent, from an agricultural point of view, are in the extreme north and south. There the climate is good and the rainfall sufficient to support crops.

Rainfall and Bodies of Water

Rain and the lack of it are among Africa's greatest problems. In this respect, the weather runs to extremes. There is sometimes no appreciable fall of rain for years in the huge deserts, except for occasional cloudbursts. The other extreme is presented by areas of torrential tropical rains, among the heaviest in the world.

Another prominent feature of the geography of Africa is its great rivers. The longest river in the world is the *Nile*, measuring 4145 miles. (The Mississippi-Missouri system, by way of comparison, is 3892 miles.) It was along the banks of the Nile that Western civilization made its first appearance. The *Niger River* of West Africa is "only" 2600 miles in length. Then there are the *Congo River* and the *Zambezi River*, both of remarkable length. Africa also cradles some of the world's most majestic lakes—for example, the 26,200-square mile Lake Victoria in East Central Africa, and other giants, such as Lake Nyasa and Lake Tanganyika.

A Regular Coast Line Has Hampered Exploration

One of the main reasons it took the white man so long to penetrate to the interior of Africa is the shape of its coastline. This is very different from that of the United States, especially the richly indented East Coast, with its chain of incomparable natural harbors. With a few exceptions, the African shore line is extremely regular, lacking the helpful indentations which provide anchorages for ships. Also, access to the continent by sea is impeded by sand bars and lagoons.

Disease Areas

When we speak of the natural features of the land of Africa, we should not overlook the large regions infested with dread diseases. Among these are *yellow fever*; *malaria*, still the greatest of all killers; and the appalling *sleeping sickness*, transmitted by the harmless-looking tsetse fly.

Because of the modern "miracle drugs," however, the health situation is rapidly improving, and the time may not be far distant when most of Africa will be free of these scourges.

Minerals and Water Power

We usually think of Africa, with some justice, as a "land of gold and diamonds." Nearly all our industrial diamonds—about 98% of the total—originate there. Africa is also the largest gold producer, furnishing annually more than 50% of the total world output of this metal. The continent also supplies other highly important sub-soil products—for example, about 75% of the world's cobalt and columbite, essential for the heat-resistant steel used in jets; an undetermined but substantial part of the uranium, so necessary in the production of atomic energy; a large part of the world's manganese output; and considerable quantities of copper, chrome, and tin. The Transvaal (in the Union of South Africa) produces platinum, and Tanganyika yields much mica. Oil has been discovered in the Sahara, and these deposits are now being developed. Other highly important minerals are produced in various parts of Africa; they will be noted in their proper places.

In water power potential, Africa is also very rich. At the head of the Nile the majestic Owen Falls Dam is already constructed, with a capacity equal to anything in Europe, outside the Soviet Union. First delivery of power is expected in 1960 at the site of the Kariba project on the Zambezi River in Central Africa's Rhodesias. The biggest project of all will probably be constructed at Inga on the Congo River. At one point, a single dam could produce as much hydroelectric power as is now consumed by the industrial states of Western Europe. Additional power potentialities are locked up in Africa's other great streams and lakes, including the awe-inspiring Victoria Falls on the Zambezi, 350 feet high and a mile wide.

Agriculture—Plus and Minus

There are large tracts of good land in Africa, even though most of the continent is covered by arid and semi-arid areas and forests. The vineyards of parts of South Africa rival those of France. More important, however, is the diversified agriculture of the Mediterranean area and of the Union of South Africa; grains and all kinds of semi-tropical crops are produced in both these regions in considerable quantities. Good coffee is grown in Ethiopia and on the

slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika. Liberia produces rubber; Ghana is the largest producer of cocoa; Egypt, the Sudan and Uganda are known for their cotton. Africa produces more than 70% of the world's palm oil and palm kernel, and about 58% of its sisal fiber.

But there is another, less favorable side to the agricultural picture in Africa. Methods of cultivation in most cases are primitive, and the soil has suffered much from erosion. Large regions are still infested with rinderpest, African sleeping sickness, and other diseases which hamper the development of animal husbandry. In some areas, irrigation is badly needed, and others require drainage.

Potential Wealth

Africa is potentially a far richer continent than it is today. There is no doubt that it has many resources not yet revealed, including oil deposits much greater than those already discovered in the Sahara. Individual countries, however, may not have the capital and the technical skill necessary to find and utilize these hidden treasures. A concerted effort is needed. With an adequate program along these lines, Africa has the potentiality to develop economically to such an extent that it may be able to absorb tens, and perhaps even hundreds, of millions of people.

The Peoples of Africa

In the deserts and tropical forests it is difficult to "count noses." We can only estimate Africa's total population, and these estimates range widely, between 180 and 225 million. An estimate of 200 million is, probably, not too far off the mark.

The term *race* in regard to human beings has been, and is, flagrantly misused. Students of the subject recognize only three basic races or stocks of mankind, with a number of subdivisions in each case. The classifications are made principally on the basis of such physical characteristics as the color or pigmentation of the skin, hair texture, and shape of lips and skulls. (It should be emphasized, incidentally, that none of these physical characteristics suggests any particular level of mental or moral development. The idea of a "superior" or "inferior" race comes not from science but from mythologies such as the one developed by Adolf Hitler.)

From this point of view, most Africans belong to the Negro or "black" race. These dark-skinned people live mainly south



	CAUCASIAN (ARAB, BERBER, EUROPEAN)		NEGRO
	EASTERN HAMITIC		BANTU (NEGROID)
	HOTTENTOT AND BUSHMAN		BANTU AND MALAYAN
	WHITE, BANTU, AND OTHERS		NEGRO, NILOTIC, AND OTHERS

RACIAL MAP OF AFRICA

This map shows in generalized form the distribution of the main races in Africa. It should be understood, of course, that some representatives of the various races are found virtually everywhere throughout the continent.

of the great desert belt of Africa. It is in the Equatorial regions that we find the homeland of the "true Negro"—from the Gulf of Guinea in the west to Zanzibar island in the east. The inhabitants of these areas are very dark-skinned people, displaying the well-known physical traits of the Negroes.

The Bantu, the Bushman and Others

As we move southward from the Equator, we reach a vast region inhabited by another type. They are described as Negroid, which means "Negro-like", rather than true Negroes. Their skin colors vary from olive brown to dark black. These people are called the *Bantus* which is not an ethnic but a linguistic designation. One of the Bantu tongues, *Swahili*, which has an admixture of Arabic, is used as the "market language" in a large part of East Africa, in much the same way as Latin was used in the Middle Ages, and English is being used today in many parts of the world.

Farther south, chiefly in the Kalahari desert, live the surviving remnants of the *Bushmen*, whose skin color ranges from yellow to olive, and who are seldom more than five feet tall; the *Hottentots*, whose strange name was given to them by the Dutch settlers because of the clicking sound in their speech; the *Kaffirs*, among the most intelligent Bantu people; and many others.

It has been estimated that the native Africans speak some 700 different languages and dialects. Many of these languages have exceptionally intricate grammars, but few of them have been reduced to writing. Why so many languages? It is the result primarily of the isolating influence of the deserts and tropical forests, and the resulting lack of communications among groups.

How They Live

A bewildering variety of customs, folkways, and folklore characterizes life in Africa, so that it is extremely difficult to generalize, or even to provide an overall description. The homes the native people build for themselves usually are adapted to the environment and, as one might expect, use the most abundant local materials for construction. Nomadic herders in Kenya and Tanganyika, for instance, build their huts with the aid of branches and animal skins. In other places the village compounds are made of mud, looking like huge ant-heaps. Very common in many parts of Africa is the thatched house; another familiar sight is the beehive-shaped hut. Then there are caves and rock shelters.

Africa is the anthropologist's paradise because of the almost incredible diversity in social customs and governmental systems. Newcomers into some regions are often impressed by the democratic ways of the inhabitants, their tribal councils, their ability to "recall" inept or unpopular chieftains, the application of common sense in everyday affairs, and the respect paid to wisdom, which is often associated with long experience. On the other hand, Africa also offers the spectacle of native customs and institutions which we must regard as benighted, tyrannical, and even inhuman. Examples are human sacrifices, extreme and rigid class distinctions, absolute rule by kings or chieftains, and slavery.*

A Wide Variety of Religious Beliefs

The number of religious creeds in Africa is also very large, ranging from childish superstitions to the purest form of monotheism. Most of the people believe in some type of superior power—whether in the form of deities, natural forces, "souls," or some other concept.

The term *animism* is used to describe the primitive religions based on the idea that all objects have a natural life or vitality of their own and are endowed with indwelling "souls." This sometimes involves the further idea that all objects have magic powers to do good or evil. It is estimated that there are about 75 million people in Africa accepting some variety of animist belief.

The religion with the largest number of followers is Islam, if we consider the entire population of the continent, black and white. Islam is a monotheistic religion, which believes in one God, Creator and Ruler of the universe. Its very name is an abbreviation of the Arabic term for "submission to God's will." In the past, as well as today, Islam has been spreading much faster than the Christian creeds, and this in spite of the fact that the Christians have active and devoted missionaries, while the Islamites (Muslims) usually do not. What is the explanation? One factor is that, in the minds of many natives, Christianity is associated with the white man and oppression. Muslims in general are not color-conscious, as many Westerners appear to be, although of course there is no basis in Christian ethics for judging men by their race or color. The number of adherents of Islam in Africa is estimated at 85 million.

*This refers to indigenous slavery—that is, enslavement of Africans by other Africans. Of course, it was not until the "civilized" white man came to Africa that slavery became a major international industry.

The Christian creeds rank third, with some 37 million adherents, of whom close to 19 million are Roman Catholics. The missionary work of the Catholics has been particularly effective in the overseas possessions of Portugal and France. Parts of Africa also have hundreds of thousands of Hindus, emigrants from India. Finally, there are a good many people who profess no belief in any religious system or whose religious creed cannot be ascertained.

“White” Africa

The non-Negro population of Africa is found in considerable numbers in the temperate zones of the north and the south and at higher altitudes in the interior. There are also smaller groups scattered in trading and administrative centers throughout the continent. In the north, the two largest groups are the Arabs and Berbers; in the south they are mainly people of Dutch and English descent.

The Arabs, together with the Berbers (a much smaller group), inhabit the entire Mediterranean fringe of North Africa, from Egypt to Morocco. The Arabs speak a Semitic language, related to Hebrew. They have imposed their religion, Islam, and often their way of life on their neighbors, the Berbers. The name of the latter is derived from the ancient Romans' contemptuous designation of all peoples who did not speak either of the “civilized” languages, Greek or Latin. The Romans called these people “barbarians,” a distorted version of which is *Berber*. The language of the Berbers is Hamitic, which is related to the tongue of old Egypt. The modern Egyptians, on the other hand, speak Arabic.

All kinds of racial mixtures may be encountered in these northern regions. This may seem somewhat surprising in view of the fact that the great desert lies between “Black” and “White” Africa. However, even this formidable barrier may be crossed when men are driven by such potent forces as hunger. Thus, there are dark-skinned people in the Arab-Berber world, just as there are also blond Berbers and blue-eyed Arabs. A very dark skin color characterizes some of the Hamitic people, even though theoretically they are “whites.”

In the extreme southern part of the continent we again encounter a large number of white people. The most numerous single group is the *Afrikaners*, who are mainly of Dutch origin and who speak a language derived from Dutch called *Afrikaans*. The other large group in this part of Africa is the British, whose language of course is English.

Elsewhere, there are sizable groups of Europeans where the climate is good and the soil fertile—for example, in Kenya. Where such favorable conditions do not prevail, most of the Europeans are “transients,” in government service, trade, or banking. How many Europeans are there in “Black Africa”? Probably not as many as a million, including both the transients and the permanent settlers. Moreover, their number will probably decrease as the European powers give up their political and economic control.

One of Africa’s great problems is the relationship of Negroes and white people in those areas where conditions are favorable for white settlement, as in Rhodesia, Kenya and, above all, the Union of South Africa.

THINGS TO DO

1. Climate is a basic factor in determining the life of the people everywhere, but especially in Africa. Explain how climatic factors have helped to shape the conditions prevailing in Africa and the historical development of various parts of the continent. A good writer to consult in this connection is Ellsworth Huntington, a leading authority on climate. Two of his famous books are *The Character of Races as Influenced by Physical Environment, Natural Selection and Historical Development* (Scribner, 1929) and *Civilization and Climate* (Yale University Press, 1929). Or refer to any good textbook on geography.

2. Some of the extremes of African temperature and rainfall have been mentioned in this chapter. How do these extremes compare with the corresponding figures for your state? For data on conditions in your state and other parts of the United States consult the *World Almanac* or some other reference book.

3. Refer to the map on page 9 which shows the distribution of various races in Africa. Explain how *natural* and *historical* forces have determined the general distribution of the Negro race and the white race throughout the continent.

4. Only a few languages are spoken to any great extent in North America. Hundreds of languages are spoken in Africa. Explain.

5. “Africa today is going through a period of momentous historical change which other parts of the world experienced in the more or less distant past.” Explain this statement.

6. Some observers believe that the Communist victory in China has affected the world balance of power. Assuming that this judgment is correct, explain why it has the effect of making Africa more important to us than ever. Cite facts from this chapter to support your answer.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Two Africas

Although Africa on the map appears as a single continental land mass, there are in reality two Africas.

One of these faces the Mediterranean Sea, which connects it with Europe. Note that we use the word *connects*, for the Mediterranean, far from being a water barrier, has served as a highway for trade and cultural influences and has, in effect, made North Africa a part of Europe. This Africa is the "oldest of the Old World."

Then there is the other Africa beyond the "dry ocean." This name is applied aptly to the great deserts which separate the Mediterranean region from the African interior, much as though they were two continents. This Africa was "discovered" a relatively short time ago, much more recently than America, and thus may be described as the "newest of the New World."

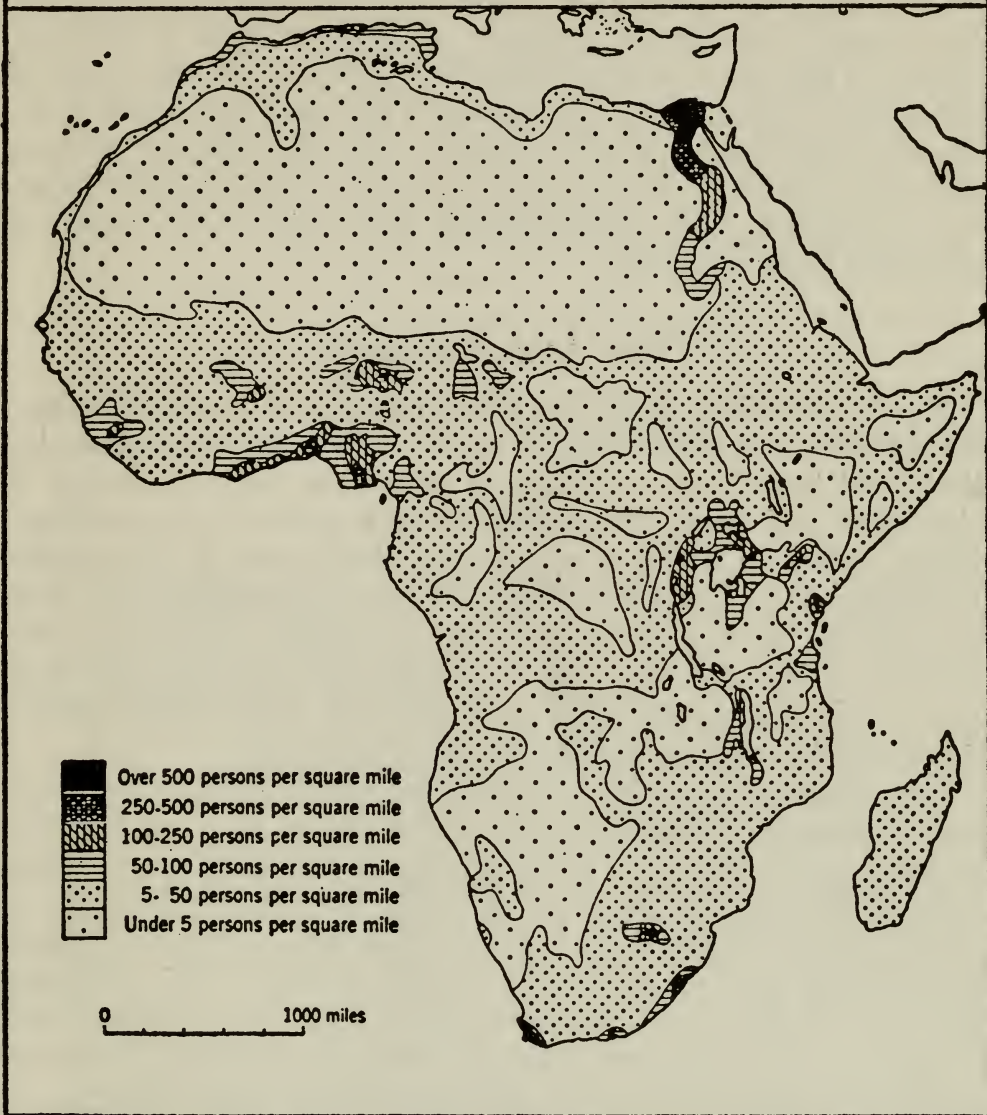
In this chapter we shall briefly survey the historical development of the two Africas.

In Ancient Times

Our Western civilization originated in Mediterranean Africa, along the banks of the Nile River. The annual overflow of the great river made the soil unusually fertile, and the vast deserts protected the land against invasion. Thus, the ancient Egyptians were able to raise food for a relatively dense population, to establish an orderly government, and to make notable progress in the arts, sciences, and technology. Just as important, the Egyptians developed a moral code, involving standards of right and wrong, and ideas of man's obligation to his fellow man.

Mediterranean Africa was the granary of the Roman Empire. Even before this, it was recognized as an area of great strategic importance, the pivot of the known world. Great conquerors or would-be conquerors tried to use it as a bulwark of their expanding power. Alexander the Great, for example, obtained a

Population Density



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Note how the "dry ocean" of the desert separates the populated areas in the north from those in the interior of the continent. The "two Africas" differ widely in racial backgrounds, culture, geographical conditions, and other respects.

foothold in Egypt for his projected world empire. To this day, his name is perpetuated in one of Africa's greatest cities—Alexandria. Then the Romans conquered the region and made it a strong point of their vast domains in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The dominant culture of North Africa is Arabic. Today, Egypt, part of the United Arab Republic, plays the leading role in the Arab world. Can this be regarded as a continuation of the civilization of the Egypt of the Pharaohs, where our Western way of life had its beginnings? The answer is that the Egyptians of the Pharaohs and those of today belong to basically different cultures and racial stocks. The first were a Hamitic people, while the latter are Semitic. This transformation goes back to the period of the great Arab conquests.

The Arab Conquests

It was in the 7th century of the Christian era that the Arabs—inhabitants of a desert region much farther east—swept out of their arid homeland in an almost incredible burst of energy. A short time previously, they had been won over to a new religion, *Islam*, based on belief in one God (Allah) and in his prophet (Mohammed). The Arabs became fanatical propagators of their new creed. In the course of their remarkable expansion, they conquered Egypt (about the year 630) and superimposed their way of life upon previous layers of cultures. Thus Egypt became Arab, and has remained Arab to the present day.

The conquering Arabs continued their irresistible march westward along the Mediterranean. Everywhere they forced their religion and their way of life upon the people they overran—the original Berbers, the survivors of the Roman realm, the more recently arrived “barbarians” from the north, and many others. Finally, the Arabs reached the Atlantic Ocean which then was the “end of the world,” beyond which there was nothing. Still carried onward by their religious zeal, they abruptly swerved northward and leapt across the narrow straits into Europe. It was in 711 that they crossed the narrows under their warrior-leader Tarik. It was he who gave his name to Gibraltar—*Jebel* (Arabic for “mountain”) *Tarik*.

The conquering Arab hordes swept across Spain, crossed the Pyrenees, and stormed into the Frankish Kingdom which was to become France. They almost reached Paris. Not far from that city, however, they were defeated by Charles Martel in 732, at the battle of Tours. In spite of this defeat, they left their mark

upon parts of France. For example, the region west of the Riviera is still called the *Pays des Maures*, or "Land of the Moors." (*Moor*, incidentally, is another name given by Europeans to the natives of North Africa.)

The Arabs founded one of history's great empires, comprising most of the then known world, outside of Europe. It was too large, however, and became unmanageable. When Arab control began to falter, it was the Ottoman Turks, another group of dynamic conquerors, who seized power in these regions and founded another world empire in the Middle East and North Africa. In time, the Ottoman realm proved too unwieldy, and the western provinces in Africa fell into the hands of robber barons and sea pirates. Eventually, the "Barbary Pirates" became an international menace, and the major powers, including the United States, had to subdue them early in the last century. In 1830, the French moved across the Mediterranean and obtained a foothold in Algeria. Another phase in the history of Mediterranean Africa had begun.

The "Other Africa"

The "other Africa" in the south, separated from North Africa by the great expanse of desert, had an entirely different early history and a much shorter one. It is closely connected with the explorations that led to the discovery of America.

As is well known, America was not actually the goal of Columbus' history-making voyages. He and the other early explorers were interested primarily in reaching India, the fabled source of gems, spices, and silk. The discovery of the New World (North and South America) was merely an accidental by-product of the attempt to find an easier route to India. Indeed, Columbus was firmly convinced that the lands which he had stumbled on were the Indies. The error was soon discovered. Far from being the Indies, America was a major "barrier" on the way to the Orient. The search for a direct route to the East and its treasures continued. Again as a by-product, this led explorers to become familiar with the coasts (the "outer shell") of the continent of Africa. The Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Diaz rounded the turbulent southern tip of Africa in 1488. He called it the Cape of the Storm, but later it was named the Cape of Good Hope.

The attempts to reach India by sailing around Africa finally were successful, when Vasco da Gama, another Portuguese, dropped anchor in the harbor of Calicut (Calcutta) in 1498.

Other intrepid navigators continued the exploration of Africa. Among these, we may name particularly Ferdinand Magellan, still another Portuguese, who led the first expedition to circumnavigate the globe; and Francis Drake, first Englishman to travel around the world.

Exploration of the African coastline may have been something of an accident, but it turned out to be highly profitable. Here the explorer-adventurers found spices, ivory, gold, and above all, slaves. Eventually the "big business" of coastal West Africa became slavetrading, first with the West Indies, and later—beginning in 1619—with the North American colonies.

White Settlements in Dark Africa

The first large white settlement in "Dark Africa" was established at Cape Town, in the extreme south, in 1652. This was in the hands of the Dutch East India Company, and it remained Dutch for about 1½ centuries. Then came Napoleon, whose armies overran Holland in Europe. The British were apprehensive that he might also extend his rule to South Africa, which was important for the Indian trade. To prevent this, and also to enlarge their African empire, they invaded the region and took over the Cape Colonies. Rather than remain under British rule, most of the Dutch settlers eventually trekked northward and settled in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State—as it became known—and Natal. (See Chapter 6.)

Meanwhile, other trading stations were established along the African seaway to India. Thus far, only the "fringes" of the continent had been affected, not the interior. The British were among the first to take an interest in the regions beyond the coasts, and they founded an association to engage in the systematic exploration of the continent. Up to this time, however, they had their settlements and trading stations only on the sea front and at river mouths, as in Gambia and Sierra Leone, in the west. The French obtained a foothold at the westernmost point of Africa, on the island of Gorée, facing Dakar. The Portuguese and the Spaniards also had several ocean-front trading stations. Africa, as far as the European imperialists were concerned, was as yet not a continent but only a waterfront.

Livingstone and Stanley

A famous Scottish missionary, David Livingstone, was the first to throw light on at least a part of the "Dark Continent." In the

course of his religious activities, he also engaged in exploration, and he found the Zambezi River, Victoria Falls, Lake Nyasa and other places.

Looking for the mystery-shrouded sources of the Nile, he vanished out of sight in 1866 in what was thought to be cannibal country. His disappearance created a world sensation. The noted editor of the New York *Herald*, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., asked his star correspondent, Henry Morton Stanley, a Britisher, to lead an expedition to find Livingstone. Naturally, he was to report back to The *Herald* on his experiences. Stanley pushed into the rugged country where Livingstone had last been seen. Natives told him about a white man living in the village of Ujiji, in what is now Western Tanganyika Territory, on Lake Tanganyika. It was there, on November 10, 1871, that the two explorers met. The words with which Stanley greeted Livingstone became the most quoted sentence in African exploration: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" To which Livingstone replied: "Yes, and I feel thankful I am here to welcome you."

The two men now decided to work as a team, and they explored much of Central Africa. After Livingstone's death, Stanley continued alone, finding some of the sources of the Nile, the course



This picture represents the meeting between Stanley and Livingstone, as conceived by an artist of the period.

of the Congo, and the river route to the Atlantic Ocean. The books he wrote about his explorations, including his classic *In Darkest Africa*, did much to put the continent on the map, in the minds of Europeans and Americans.

Africa Becomes More Important

It was a ruling king, not a businessman, who saw the commercial possibilities of these explorations. This was Leopold II, King of the Belgians, who became the proprietor of the largest territory ever owned by a single man, certainly in recent times. We shall see what happened in that privately owned "Congo Free State" (pages 50-52).

Suddenly the powers began to realize Africa's importance. The British moved into the continent with alacrity, picking up huge chunks of land, beginning with the Gold Coast in the west (1876), the Sudan in the east, British East Africa, Central Africa, and various others. The very embodiment of this new imperialism was the Britisher, Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902). He was one of the most aggressive and most able of the new breed of colonial-minded Europeans. Gaining control of the recently established Kimberley diamond mines in South Africa, he built up a vast fortune and one of the great commercial and industrial empires of the period. But Rhodes was not satisfied just to make money. He wanted to become a factor in international politics and particularly to insure British dominance in South Africa and throughout the continent. To further this program, he supported such projects as the construction of a railway line running the length of Africa from north to south ("from Cairo to the Cape"). With an attitude typical of the imperialists of his day, Rhodes took it for granted that the white man was destined to dominate the "natives" of Africa, and that the British, being a superior race, should be in the forefront of this domination.

The Stampede for Africa

Europe was a crowded continent, its industries pouring out mass-produced goods, eager for markets and cheap raw materials. It soon became clear that the interior of Africa was invaluable for both these purposes. As the European powers tried to "move in," one of the great imperialist stampedes of the 19th century ensued. The European governments competed with each other, and sometimes clashed. There was little resistance, however,



This map shows Africa in 1939, on the eve of World War II. Note that at this time virtually the entire continent was controlled by European powers, with Great Britain and France holding the lion's share. The only independent nations at this time were Egypt and Liberia, although the Union of South Africa already had a considerable amount of autonomy as a dominion within the British Commonwealth.

from the natives of the interior, who were simple people and could do little in most cases to hold off the aggressive, well-armed Europeans. There was no parallel, for example, to the "Indian Wars" which made the settlement of North America so difficult. Explorers, adventurers, military people ranged over vast interior regions of Africa, sometimes fighting small "wars," more often arranging "treaties" under which the native chieftains agreed to grant concessions in return for "protection."

The British by now had the greatest colonial empire, with interests all over the world and with "life lines" running in various directions, which, they felt, they had to protect. This meant an aggressive colonial policy in Africa and elsewhere. The French, too, had strong colonial traditions, but in the course of the Napoleonic Wars, they had lost most of their overseas possessions. This was the time to make up for their losses, and they proceeded to build an African empire second only to that of Britain. The Portuguese, strongly aware of having been the first Europeans in Africa, were determined to acquire important interests in the interior. The Germans were not interested at first, being busy with building a united country at home. But eventually the fever caught them, too, and they rushed into Africa in a last-minute attempt to "get their share." Even the United States could not stay out completely, and Liberia, an American "client state," was set up. Spain had a number of African footholds, and eventually Italy too moved in, acquiring an "empire of deserts."

By the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the only parts of the vast continent not under direct European control were the tiny Republic of Liberia in the west and the Kingdom of Ethiopia in the east.

Why Colonies?

Why did European powers go to great trouble and expense to acquire colonies in Africa and elsewhere?

Perhaps the most common answer to this question is that the Westerners wished to take over sources of wealth, such as gold, industrial minerals, fertile lands, etc. No doubt this was one of the motives. It should be noted, however, that these natural resources were usually exploited not by governments but by private capital, mostly organized as large corporations. The direct returns to the governments (through taxes, license fees, and other charges) were often relatively small. It was argued, however, that the wealth brought in from colonies strengthened the entire na-

tional economy and made the nation a more potent factor in world affairs. To what extent this wealth "filtered down" to raise the standard of living of the mass of the population in the home country is a matter of dispute, even today.

Another widely held belief is that trade with the colonies has served as a major force in supporting a high level of economic activity. There is good evidence that the importance of this trade has often been somewhat exaggerated. In 1952, for example, Africa's share of the total volume of world trade (including imports and exports) was only 7%. And by no means all of this trade was with the powers holding territories in Africa.

Another common belief is that Western powers have collected, and still collect, large tax revenues from the African natives, and use the money in the home country. While this may have been true in some cases in the past, it is seldom so at present. Indeed, there are many cases of European governments which spend more on their colonies than they draw from them in taxes.

Of course, even when a government is "losing money" on colonies, individuals may be profiting handsomely. Usually, though not always, citizens of the home country have a distinct advantage in acquiring the best land, developing mineral and other resources, carrying on trade, engaging in banking, insurance, shipping, and other fields.

How about colonies as an outlet for surplus population? Much was heard about this in former years, especially when Italy was building her ill-fated African empire. But the figures show that Europeans, by and large, have preferred to emigrate to the United States and other independent countries in the Western Hemisphere, rather than to colonies in Africa and Asia. As we shall see, however, there are some areas in Africa which have proved attractive to immigrants—for example, Algeria, South Africa, and Kenya.

Manpower, Prestige, and the "White Man's Burden"

France was able to draw on African manpower to fill out her thinning lines during the period when there were great demands on the static population of the mother country. The French Army in World War I was strengthened by some 545,000 African troops, mainly Moroccans and Senegalese. Other countries, such as Great Britain and Spain, have also made use of African troops.

Prestige was another factor that induced European nations to move into Africa. The building of an overseas empire became

associated with "glory" and "power." Once a nation's flag had been hoisted over an area, it could not be lowered again (it was felt) without a "loss of face."

Some Europeans emphasized the fact that colonialism gave them a chance to support the work of their missionaries and to carry on other humanitarian activities. They considered it their duty to civilize the natives. This was expressed by Rudyard Kipling's memorable phrase, the "white man's burden."

While it cannot be denied that Western influences have helped primitive African people in many ways, it is also charged that by abruptly sweeping away ancient folkways and institutions, the Europeans have done much to undermine the foundations of these societies. Moreover, even the most enlightened colonial administrations have seldom tried to raise the educational level of the natives beyond a modest minimum, or to teach them more than the most simple technical skills. The fact is, say the critics, that a well-educated and technically competent native population does not fit into the structure of the usual colonial system.

Strategic considerations have often played a part in colonial expansion. An important trading post was acquired, let us say, on a coastline. This had to be secured against attacks from the interior, and the point thus reached, in turn, had to be safeguarded. The process of expanding and safeguarding usually went on until it reached an area held by another European country.

Another cause for expansion was international jealousy. Often nations marched into the African wilderness merely to head off a possible competitor. On the other hand, sometimes several nations joined together in order to keep out a new competitor.

Changing Ideas of the Value of Colonies

Now that colonial empires in Africa and elsewhere are breaking up rapidly, how are the former imperialist powers affected? There is little evidence that these losses have had an adverse effect on the mass of the people in Europe. For example, before World War II, when the vast British Empire in Africa and elsewhere was still largely intact, the British people suffered from large-scale unemployment and low living standards in many areas. Now that the Empire has contracted greatly, economic conditions for most people in Britain have improved. Britain still maintains friendly and profitable trade relations with her former colonies. In the light of this experience of Britain and other colonial powers, our ideas of the economic value of colonies may be subject to revision.

THINGS TO DO

1. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* by Hannah Arendt (Harcourt, Brace, 1951) is an authoritative and readable treatment of imperialism and related subjects. Consult this book for an analysis of why various European nations expanded into Africa. Prepare a report for the class.

2. The word *geopolitics* refers to the application of geography to the external political problems and activities of nations. On the basis of this definition, what would you say are the basic "geopolitical" factors which have influenced the history of Africa during the last century?

3. A good brief survey of the workings of imperialism in Africa and elsewhere will be found in *Colonialism—Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, by Durward Pruden and Samuel Steinberg (Oxford Book Company, 1956). After reading this pamphlet, point out (a) why Africa became one of the main fields for colonial expansion, (b) how this expansion affected Africa, (c) how it affected the colonial powers.

4. Adventure and history are combined in *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*, edited by his wife, Dorothy Stanley, (Houghton, Mifflin, 1911). Consult this book and discuss the character traits which enabled Stanley to become one of the world's great explorers.

5. Other books by Stanley include *In Darkest Africa* (Scribner, 1890) and *How I Found Livingstone* (Scribner, 1913). Compare the picture which these books give of Africa with the descriptions offered in more recent studies, such as *Inside Africa*, by John Gunther (Harper, 1955).

6. "More than ever before, American democracy and the survival of the free world depend upon an enlightened public opinion. Public opinion may be comprised of three groups: a *mass public*, an *attentive public* (journalists who are seeking information, and local officials who may want to influence those above), and the *elite public* (persons who operate on the national level)." (From, *The American People and Foreign Policy*, by George Almond, Princeton University Press, 1956.)

What media and sources of information are helping to form public opinion regarding Africa on these three different levels? How might these three groups differ in their attitudes toward Africa?

7. Arrange for a showing of one of the following films before your class or school:

(a) *The Rising Tide of Nationalism* (filmstrip), Available from The New York Times Office of Educational Activities, 229 West 43 St., New York 18, N.Y.

(b) *Nationalism* (20-minute film). Available from Encyclopedia Britannica Films, 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Ill.

CHAPTER 3

BRITAIN IN AFRICA

Diminished But Still Important

After World War I, the British Empire in Africa was indeed an imposing structure. There was an unbroken chain of British territory from the northern to the southern limits of the continent. Since then, the "chain" has been fragmented. Egypt and the Sudan have cast off all special relations with the British. The Union of South Africa for a time continued tenuous ties as a member of the Commonwealth, but in 1961, it broke away completely as the South African Republic.

The British, however, still retain important interests in Africa, including both colonial possessions and (increasingly) member states of the Commonwealth. Among the newly sovereign states which have chosen to remain within the Commonwealth are *Ghana* (the former Gold Coast), *Nigeria*, and *Sierra Leone* in the west. In the eastern and central regions, *Tanganyika* is independent as a Commonwealth member, and *Kenya* is scheduled for independence in 1962. Other vast territories such as *Uganda*, the *Rhodesias*, and *Nyasaland* are in a transitional stage. In the south, there are large protectorates embedded within the Republic of South Africa—*Basutoland*, *Bechuanaland*, and *Swaziland*.

Indirect Rule

In their colonial policies, the British have usually employed the methods of indirect rule. It is "indirect" because, wherever possible, they have preferred to exert their influence through native institutions and heads of government who bear such titles as "chieftain" or "king." To do this is easier and cheaper than to send a swarm of British officials into the desert and the bush to look after every detail. Such methods also have the advantage of giving the native people the feeling that they are governing themselves, or at least that power is in the hands of their own rulers. British colonial officials may step in occasionally to keep the native rulers within bounds, but they try to do this tactfully.

Within this general pattern, there has been considerable variation in the nature of British rule in different parts of Africa. It has been notably liberal in the west, as is shown by the inde-

pendence of Ghana, Nigeria, and other former colonies. In other sections, British policies have generally been far more stringent. The factor in determining such differences of policy is the presence or absence of large numbers of white settlers. There are few whites living in the west, where the climate and terrain are trying. Under such conditions, the British have shown that they are willing to allow the natives to control their own destinies. On the other hand, the eastern highlands, with their bracing climate and fertile soil, attracted large numbers of permanent white settlers. In these colonies, such as Kenya, the whites held out longer against native demands for self-government and independence.

Nigeria—The Land of the Great River

Nigeria derives its name from the great river of West Africa, the Niger. It is the most populous of British lands in Africa, and its area (about 373,350 square miles) is greater than that of any European country, except Russia. Censuses are not easy to take in the desert and the bush, so that there are divergent views about Nigeria's population. The first comprehensive census, taken in 1952-53, yielded a figure of about 31,200,000. The UN estimate in the early 1960's was 35 million.



One of the main problems of Nigeria is sectionalism. The country is divided into three main regions—North, East, and West—each of which

is very different from the others, with its own tribal background, languages, local rulers, customs, and prejudices. By far the largest of the regions is the North, comprising the territory north of the Niger and Benue Rivers.

In the hot and humid climate of Nigeria, whites do not thrive. Hence, the lack of competition between the races and the absence of an effective color bar.

Tropical goods are Nigeria's most important exports, especially palm oil and kernel, peanuts and cocoa. The leading mineral product is tin. The bulk of the trade is with Britain, and it is from there that Nigeria imports most of the manufactured goods it needs, the most important being cotton textiles.

Merchant Adventurers and Soldier Administrators

Nigeria was opened up for the British primarily by adventurous business people. The pioneer was the National African Company, followed by the Royal Niger Company. These business organizations ran the government of the region, in addition to carrying on regular commercial activities. It was not until the turn of the 20th century that the Royal Niger Company surrendered its charter to the British government.

The man who impressed his stamp on Nigeria more than anybody else was Lord Lugard, a great colonial administrator whose life reads like an adventure story. As a young man he fought in Britain's colonial wars in Afghanistan and Burma. Transferred to Africa, he served in the Sudan. He was sent to Nigeria, where he found his life's mission. He settled there and served as the Governor-General from 1911 until 1919.

Independence for Nigeria

As the nationalist wave struck Africa, the British decided to yield to the demands of the Nigerians, apparently in the hope of winning their friendship and insuring favorable economic relations. The British launched a program to train Nigerians for government posts—"Nigerization." They set up a federal form of government in 1954, consisting of three main regions (Northern, Western and Eastern Nigeria), each with some governmental machinery of its own and a measure of self-rule. Relatively strong political parties were formed in these areas—the *Northern People's Congress* in the north; the *Action Group* in the west; and the *National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons* in the east. Finally, Nigeria-wide elections were held in the summer of 1960, preparatory to the proclamation of full independence. On October 1, 1960, independence became a reality, and the leader of the Northern People's Congress, which won the largest number of votes, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, became the country's first Prime Minister.

The East African High Commission

In economic relations, three large British regions in East Africa work as a unit under the East Africa High Commission. They are *Kenya*, partly a colony and partly a protectorate; *Uganda*, a protectorate; and *Tanganyika Territory*, a UN trusteeship. A glance at the map will indicate that these regions form a continu-

ous area. Recently, the High Commission borrowed 24 million dollars from the World Bank to pay for equipment to improve and expand the railway system. Port development and other economic projects were also planned.

In other ways, these three regions are governed separately. They make up a large territory, with an area greater than that of all Western Europe, but with the comparatively small population of 20 million. The explanation is the tsetse fly and the terrible sleeping sickness which it carries. Not all parts of the region, however, are infested by this disease.

Kenya and the Mau Mau

Kenya in East Africa covers an area of 224,960 square miles, slightly smaller than Texas, and it had an estimated population of 6,150,000 in 1956. It entered modern history in a modest way



at the beginning of the present century, when the Jews in Czarist Russia were being subjected to savage persecutions. There was a widespread demand that a sanctuary somewhere be made available to these victims of bigotry, and the British government offered Kenya as such a place. The Zionist Organization, however, did not consider tropical Africa suitable for this purpose, on the basis of both natural conditions and historical traditions.

Until recently, Kenya remained quite obscure. The very name of this part-colony, part-protectorate indicates one of its chief features, for *Kenya* means "glacier" in a Bantu tongue. The land is indeed mountainous. Some of the peaks reach a height of 11,000 feet and are snow-covered throughout the year. In regions of high altitude the climate is invigorating, much like that of Southern California. These so-called "White Highlands," free of the tsetse fly, have been settled by Britishers and other Europeans. Only about a fourth of Kenya's fertile land is found here, but the cash crops produced have five times the value of the yields of the remaining 75% of the land. The average European holding is 500 acres; the average native holding, only 8 acres. Five million acres in the highlands have been closed to people of color, including Indian immigrants.

Among the native inhabitants of Kenya are the *Kikuyus*, numbering about 1,200,000. They live in the highlands and, as a group, they are strong, energetic, and warlike. They have long been bitterly resentful of the white man's rule and economic advantages. In 1953, the Kikuyus and several allied tribes formed a terrorist organization called the *Mau Mau* and rose against white supremacy in the highlands. They apparently hoped that by employing such tactics as murder, mutilation, destruction of property, and threats, they would make conditions intolerable for the whites. Some of their violence was directed at the British and other Europeans, but even more it was turned against natives who refused to take part in the movement.

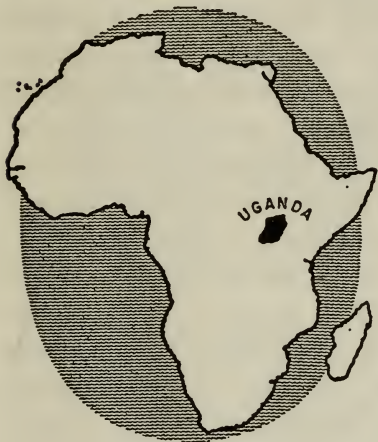
The political leader of the *Mau Maus* was Jomo Kenyatta, a widely known tribal chief, and their fighting forces were under the command of "Field Marshal" Dedan Kimanthi. The revolt raged for four years. In the course of the fighting, thousands of natives were killed and even more were jailed. By 1957, the rebels had generally been brought under control.

The British realized, however, that military victory was not enough to insure peace and stability in Kenya. Reforms were badly needed. Accordingly a plan was worked out under which some 12,000 square miles of the "White Highlands" were to be opened to non-whites. Britain agreed to underwrite about \$39,000,000 of the cost. A supplementary program was set up to provide the native farmers with improved seedlings and to teach them ways of checking soil erosion through terracing and contour-plowing. African political leadership passed into the hands of two outstanding figures: Tom Mboya, a brilliant, well-educated young man, leader of the Kenya African National Union; and the aged Jomo Kenyatta, spellbinding Kikuyu spokesman. Their slogan, "One man, one vote, one common roll," was recognized in the 1961 elections, in which the National Union won a majority of the legislative seats. Kenya was scheduled for independence in 1962.

Uganda—A Land of Lakes and Mountains

"Land of Lakes" is indeed an appropriate name for the Uganda Protectorate, which includes (in part) Africa's greatest lake, Victoria Nyanza, as well as Lakes Kioga, Albert, and George. Uganda's area is 93,981 square miles, a little less than that of Oregon, and its population was estimated in 1960 as 6,700,000. Uganda is said to hold the world's record for highest production of cotton per acre. Besides cotton, it also exports large quantities

of coffee. Indeed, the protectorate is the largest producer of these commodities within the British Commonwealth. Its other main products are sisal (a cordage fiber obtained from hemp plant leaves), tea, castor seeds, peanuts (the British call them "ground nuts"), and hides and skins. Its chief minerals are wolfram (tungsten) and tin. Because of the lakes, a high degree of industrial expansion based on hydroelectric power might ultimately be feasible in Uganda.



The British system of "indirect rule" is well illustrated in Uganda. It has four "kings," one of whom has a full-fledged government, complete with a cabinet and prime minister. The kings are assisted by native assemblies. A large measure of grass-roots democracy is in effect in these seemingly backward African communities.

This region, too, was at first governed by a private concern, the British East Africa Company, which began its operations in 1890. The British Crown eventually assumed the responsibilities of governing Uganda. The first direct elections ever held in this British protectorate took place in the fall of 1958, when some 650,000 African voters went to the polls. Democracy was beginning to function even in a region formerly regarded as "darkest Africa."

Tanganyika—Snow in the Tropics

As we turn now to Tanganyika Territory, we are faced with a curious phenomenon—snow in the blazing tropics. That snow lasts throughout the entire year and it is found on top of famed Mount Kilimanjaro, 19,565 feet, the highest in all Africa. Tanganyika Territory is large, 362,981 square miles—somewhat smaller than Nigeria—but with a much smaller population, slightly over 8 million.

Tanganyika, too, is a large producer of the cordage fiber sisal, which constitutes about half of all its exports. Other important products are copra, nuts, coffee and tea. Two-thirds of the land is infested by "the fly," which is responsible in part for the small population. But even with this limited population, there is a large number of tribes, about 120 in all, speaking a veritable

babel of tongues. Some are Bantus (Negroid), some are Hamitic, related to people farther north, and still others are Nilotic—people from the Nile—of mixed blood. The most important language is Swahili, the market tongue throughout a large part of East Africa.

Tanganyika was the most important territory which the Germans acquired when they sought to build an African empire in the 1880's. They called it German East Africa. The natives in



general disliked the Germans because of their harsh methods. When Germany went down to defeat in World War I, Tanganyika was turned over to the British as a League of Nations *mandate*, to be trained for eventual self-government. After World War II, with the League no longer in existence, Tanganyika became a *trust territory* under the United Nations, with Great Britain as the "administering power." The trusteeship was terminated in October, 1961, as Tanganyika

became an independent nation. It was expected that it would remain within the Commonwealth.

As an independent nation, Tanganyika faced the usual problems of developing its natural resources for the benefit of all the people and of finding capable native leaders in government and in other areas of national life. A young African statesman of outstanding abilities, Julius K. Nyerere, who had been chief minister of the trusteeship, appeared to be the most likely choice as head of state. The new government would have to forge a sense of national unity among the large number of tribes in the population, and also establish harmonious relations between the colored majority and the white minority.

A Vast Federation — The Rhodesias and Nyasaland

Comparatively little is heard in the United States about the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, consisting of the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia and the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. They are in the heart of Africa, far off world trade routes, and with no access to any sea. Yet the Federation is important, both because of its vast size (about a half million square miles) and its minerals and other resources.

Northern Rhodesia is about as large as Texas and Maine combined, with an area of roughly 290,000 square miles. Its population, however, is small, estimated at 2,180,000, and this figure includes only about 56,000 Europeans. This is a land of great mines, especially the renowned *Copperbelt*, which produces roughly 15% of the Western world's copper. There are also productive lead and zinc mines. Agriculture is another major industry in Northern Rhodesia, with tobacco and wheat the leading crops. Cattle are raised in considerable numbers.



Since copper plays such a dominant part in the economy of this British colony, it may be surprising to learn that of the great copper-mining companies, two are controlled by American interests, while the other two are in the hands of South Africans. This is another illustration of the fact that an imperialist power does not necessarily have a monopoly in utilizing the resources of its empire.

Southern Rhodesia is smaller, 160,333 square miles, about the size of Montana, with an estimated population of 2,500,000. On the other hand, its European population is comparatively large, about 160,000. The comparison with Montana applies to more than size, since Southern Rhodesia is exceptionally rich in mineral resources—gold, chrome, asbestos, iron, and coal. It is good farm and ranch country, too, raising cotton, tobacco, fruits, and tea as well as cattle. There are also forest resources of great potential value.

Southern Rhodesia has another economic feature that is rare in "darkest Africa"—manufacturing plants. They are mostly of the type that process local raw materials, such as textile factories. Southern Rhodesia also includes one of the true natural wonders of Africa, the breathtaking Victoria Falls, 375 feet high, as compared with 167 feet for our Niagara Falls. Vast possibilities for hydroelectric development are locked in these falls.

The third division of the Federation is *Nyasaland*, 47,404 square miles, about the size of our state of Mississippi. It has a population of 2,180,000. A large portion of this protectorate is covered by lakes. Nyasaland raises cotton, some rubber, wheat, and tea.

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The Racial Question

In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, we are confronted again with one of the insistent problems of much of Africa—relations between the native black people and the white settlers. Conditions here have not reached a level of explosive violence, as in Kenya, but there is widespread unrest.

Reasons for dissatisfaction are manifold. For example, colored people in the Copperbelt region of Northern Rhodesia cannot hope to advance from unskilled to skilled jobs. Whites form only a tiny fraction of the population of Southern Rhodesia; yet they own fully half of the arable land, and the choicest plots at that. There has been an inflexible color bar in social relations.

The Federation came into existence in 1953. Many natives were strongly opposed to it because they felt that the scheme was designed to weaken them politically and economically, especially in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where there are few whites. (Fully 99% of the people of Nyasaland are colored.) They made an attempt to alert the outside world to what they declared was a grave injustice, but they received scant attention.

The British government set up a commission to report on the status of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and to recommend reforms. This body (called the "Monckton Commission" after its chairman) submitted its proposals in the autumn of 1960. It saw real advantages in the Federation, mainly in the economic field, and felt that it should be retained. It recommended, however, that the native Africans be given greater legislative representation, and that the component parts of the Federation retain the right to secede. This report was not greeted with vast enthusiasm in either of the two main camps. Many whites had serious reservations about various proposals, and the non-whites tended to be skeptical about the suggested reforms.

While this report was still under consideration, the white ruling groups had to liberalize their attitudes toward the native population within each of the three territories. In Nyasaland, where the reforms were more far-reaching, the most important native political leader, Dr. Hastings K. Banda, envisaged a democratic African country which would raise living standards by fostering agricultural cooperatives, more or less as has been done in Denmark. Northern Rhodesia passed laws ending many forms of racial discrimination. Even Southern Rhodesia, most "color-conscious" of the three, opened its parliament to native African representatives.

THINGS TO DO

1. The Duke of Devonshire, Britain's Colonial Secretary in 1923, made the following statement: "Kenya is primarily an African territory. His Majesty's government think it definitely necessary to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount" (a) What changes have occurred in Kenya since 1923 which may have led to some modification of this policy? (b) Are there other British-governed territories in Africa (as of 1923) to which this policy has been applied? Give specific examples.

2. A long but highly readable book on Africa is *Inside Africa* by John Gunther (Harper, 1955). Read the chapters in this book dealing with British Africa. What changes have occurred in the territories in question since the writing of *Inside Africa*? Does Mr. Gunther make any predictions which have been proved or disproved by the actual course of events?

3. In this chapter, there are references to various raw materials produced in British Africa, such as manganese, chrome, asbestos, copal, etc. (a) Look up each of these materials in an encyclopedia or other reference work and determine how it is used in the modern world and how important it is. (b) On an outline map of Africa, locate the main producing centers of these resources.

4. The statement has been made in Chapter 2 that very often colonial powers derive no direct financial benefits from their colonies. Consult the latest edition of *The Statesman's Year-Book* (published annually by Macmillan, London). Compare British revenues from and expenditures on several of their dependencies in Africa. Do these figures tend to bear out the above statement? Explain.

5. The "color line" is more important in some parts of British Africa than in others. (a) What is meant by the "color line"? (b) Name some areas where it is relatively strong. Where it is relatively weak. (c) How do you account for these differences?

6. A particularly pleasant way of becoming acquainted with large parts of Africa is to read *Behind God's Back*, by Negley Farson (Harcourt, Brace, 1941). How do the conditions described by Mr. Farson in 1941 compare with the conditions described in this chapter?

CHAPTER 4

FRANCE IN AFRICA

The "Civilizing Mission" of France

The great French empire in Africa was second only to that of Britain. Much of what remains today comprises the Sahara Desert, but the economic importance of the desert in the future may be greater than it is now. Oil is already being produced in the Sahara region. This is hardly surprising, for the fabulous petroleum wealth of other desert areas is well known.

The typical French attitude toward the native people in colonial areas was somewhat different from that of most Europeans. In French eyes, the color line was far less important than the "cultural line." The French were proud of their *mission civilisatrice* in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world. If the inhabitants of such areas accepted French culture, and especially if they spoke French reasonably well, they were usually "accepted." Evidence of this was the presence of African Negroes in ministerial posts in French governments. There were (and are), of course, Frenchmen with less tolerant attitudes — those to whom all natives are *sales africains* ("dirty Africans").

The French invested huge sums in their African holdings, and there is no doubt that living standards there are much higher than they would have been without their help. Especially in recent years many schools were built. None the less, Africans complained that opportunities for higher education were severely limited. Also they point out that the French did very little in the way of industrialization. To this, French spokesmen usually reply that industrialization in underdeveloped countries is never the foundation of economic progress but rather the capstone of a long period of growth and capital accumulation.

Generally, the French have interfered little with the everyday living patterns of the overseas peoples. French missionaries have been active in seeking converts among the nature-worshippers in the interior, but not among the Muslims of the North. French rule, too, has been mostly "indirect," wherever necessary. The native authorities have been allowed to look after local communal affairs.

Nationalism in French Africa

French Africa, like similar regions everywhere, has recently been struck by the driving force of nationalism. In general, the more directly a region has been exposed to Western influence, the stronger has been the local nationalist reaction. Thus, nationalism is especially potent in the cities of North Africa.

Nationalism in France's African possessions has been stimulated by the same general forces as elsewhere in the colonial world. In addition, World War II and its aftermath played a special role. The native people of Africa took seriously the statement of policies and war aims which the Allies issued in the course of the conflict. The Atlantic Charter of 1941, for example, solemnly proclaimed "the right of the people to choose their own governments. . . ." Moreover, on a somewhat different level, the colonial peoples were impressed by the crushing defeat which France had suffered. The "mother country" apparently was not as strong as had been believed. Perhaps the colonies could defy her—and get away with it.

Postwar Changes in France's African Empire

The Constitution of the Fourth French Republic (1946) dropped the word "colonies." The territories in Africa and elsewhere were described as members of the *French Union*, which were "associated" with the mother country in a mutually beneficial partnership. The inhabitants of French Africa were given limited citizenship rights. However, in the National Assembly in Paris, the supreme legislative body, there were only thirty deputies from French Africa, and some of these were Europeans.

Unrest in the North African territories could not be satisfied by membership in the French Union, and Tunisia and Morocco broke away completely from France and became independent nations. (See Chapter 6.) Algeria, however, was considered an integral part of France, and the nationalist movement there was strongly resisted by the French government. We shall see how this situation led to a long and bloody war, and how an attempt was made to solve the problem under the Fifth French Republic, which came into existence in 1958.

Trade Between France and the Overseas Empire

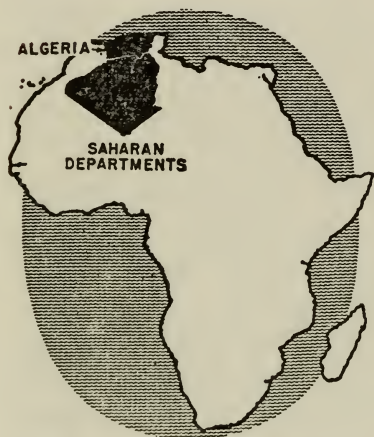
The overseas territories had maintained close economic relations with France before the war, and these continued after 1946.

France and her possessions formed a customs union, a single free-trade area. About two-thirds of all the export and import trade of the overseas possessions were with France. Nearly a billion dollars worth of raw materials and foodstuffs were shipped in an average year from the overseas empire to France, and often more than a billion dollars worth of manufactured goods were sent from the French mainland in return. French investments in these areas were on the average more than a half billion dollars a year, apart from a like amount spent for administration and military protection. These expenditures represented about 9% of the French national budget. It remains to be seen to what extent such economic relations can be maintained under the new status resulting from the creation of the French Community.

ALGERIA

Algeria Straddles the "Two Africas"

Facing the Mediterranean and Europe, Algeria straddles the "two Africas." It forms a substantial part of the coastal area in the north and also extends into the interior. The zone which skirts the sea in North Africa is known as the *tell* (Arabic for "hill"). This is a strip some 50 to 100 miles in width. It is good farming land, bearing rich crops of corn, wheat, olives, grapes, figs, and dates. Into this fertile area, most of Algeria's roughly 10 million people are crowded.



Serving as a background to this coastal zone is the grandeur of the Atlas Mountains. The plains between the ranges, the valleys, and some of the slopes are good grazing land.

South of the mountains is the "other Africa"—an area of vast emptiness dotted by oases. This accounts for by far the greater part of Algeria's area of 852,000 square miles. This part of Algeria trails off into the regions formerly known as French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa.

Mineral Wealth

Algeria is well endowed with mineral resources, such as copper, zinc, antimony, and lead. Oil was recently discovered in the

Sahara. The wells already prospected have proved to be highly productive, and it is believed that much larger fields will be found in the future. In addition, other mineral resources have recently been discovered in Algeria, including high-grade iron ore and manganese.

The People of Algeria

For its size, Algeria's population is quite small. It was estimated at about 11 million in 1961. The "Algerian problem," as we know it today, is largely caused by the composition of the population. About nine-tenths of the inhabitants are native Muslims, while the remainder are Europeans. Most of the Muslims, in turn, are Arabs, and there is a minority of Berbers. The more numerous Arabs are far more influential, so that Muslim Algeria is considered an Arab country. The Berbers live mainly in the mountainous areas and are organized into tribal groups.

The desert area, south of Algeria proper, has been very sparsely populated. In 1957, France separated these so-called "Southern Territories" from Algeria and reorganized them as two Saharan Departments—*Oases* and *Saoura*. Many Frenchmen and other Europeans have moved into this barren region to help exploit the rich oil resources.

The Colons in Algeria

Because of its delightful climate and fertile soil, the *tell* of Algeria is well suited for agriculture by Europeans. In the course of a few generations, relatively large numbers of non-Muslims have settled in this area. They are known in French as *colons* or "settlers." Many of them are of French descent, but there are also persons of Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Maltese background. Whatever their origin, they are all French citizens, and seem to be equally patriotic. As a group, they are known for their unyielding attitude on race relations and "European supremacy."

The *colons* own about two-thirds of Algeria's arable land, and they control its grape-growing and wine industry. While most of them have only small or medium-sized farms, there are some 3800 individuals who own an average of 500 acres each, which is a large holding in Algeria. There are about 70 wealthy families who control a total of half a million acres.

It is the disparity between the comparative wealth of the European *colons* and the poverty of the Muslim masses which lies behind much of the unrest and the explosive upheavals in Algeria today.

The Shadow of the Past

The Romans of antiquity took possession of the Algerian *tell* area, drawing much of their food from it. After the decline of Rome, the Vandals ravaged the region. Then, the Arabs surged into it in the early Middle Ages, and it was they who created its modern civilization.

Algeria, however, was far from the two main centers of Arab power—the Middle East and Spain. As a result, there was no effective central government, and local despots or war lords controlled things pretty much as they wished. This state of affairs continued for centuries, until the Ottoman Turks entered the region. But Algeria was distant from the main seat of Ottoman power, too, and eventually Turkish authority began to waver. Sensing this weakness, petty tyrants arose again, and they agreed on a common course of action—piracy. The “Barbary Pirates” of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco preyed for years upon peaceful Mediterranean commerce. The United States fought its first overseas war against these pirates—the Algerian and Tripolitanian campaigns early in the 19th century.

An end to piracy came when the French moved into Algeria in 1830. The map shows that this move was only a short “hop” across the Mediterranean, which serves to link, rather than separate, Europe and Africa. The French built modern forts and cities in Algeria, such as Algiers, Bône, Oran, and Philippeville. They created new industries; improved housing, sanitation, and transportation; and explored the land. On the other hand, the educational facilities which they provided for the natives were very limited. Only a handful of Algerians had an opportunity for higher education, which they usually received in France. There they tended to become infused with the French spirit, and to this day many of them speak French better than they do Arabic.

The Rise of Algerian Nationalism

Algeria was governed as an integral part of Metropolitan France. In other words, the French maintained that it was not in any sense a colony but an overseas extension of France itself, with the same rights, privileges, and political representation as any other part of France.

This may have sounded good in theory, but many Algerians were bitterly dissatisfied. They emphasized that Algeria was not represented in the National Assembly in Paris in proportion to population, and that the white minority controlled a vastly dis-

proportionate share of the seats which were allowed. They pointed, also, to the preponderance of economic power in the hands of the *colons* (page 39).

As the nationalist fever began to mount, there were more and stronger demands for true self-government and even independence. When France was crushed by Germany in World War II, many Algerians felt that their hour had come. Eventually, the various nationalist movements united in the *FLN*, *Front de la Libération Nationale*.

The French attempted to satisfy some of the Algerian aspirations. In 1946 they established a local legislative body, the Algerian Assembly, to deal with internal matters. Basic policy decisions, however, continued to remain in the hands of the Paris government. This Algerian Assembly was so constituted that nine million Muslims carried as much weight as a million *colons*. The *FLN*, bitterly disillusioned, demanded independence.

Serious trouble erupted in Algeria in 1955. The Muslims called it a "War of Liberation"; the French, a "rebellion." In any event, it was bitter and bloody, with fighting continuing year after year. Eventually, the flower of the French Army, perhaps half a million men, was committed to this strange campaign. The fighting was largely of a guerrilla type, with the rebels striking quickly at vulnerable points, then fading into the countryside, where they were protected by their people. Each year of this rebellion cost the French government about a billion dollars, with no real progress made toward ending it. In 1956 the French government dissolved the Algerian Assembly. Until the end of August, 1958, losses among the Muslims were estimated at 36,000 insurgents and 6000 civilians killed. French losses were 4000 troops and 1000 civilians killed.

Algeria and the Fifth French Republic

The civil war in Algeria appeared to be a stalemate. Then, on May 13, 1958, French army units, headed by paratroopers ("*paras*") took over the government of Algeria. They demanded that the French government of the hour should yield to France's war-time hero, General Charles de Gaulle. This was done.

On September 28, 1958, all French territories throughout the world took part in a plebiscite on a new Constitution framed by de Gaulle. It was approved by a decisive vote everywhere (except in French Guinea), and the *Fifth French Republic* came into being. Algeria voted "yes" by an overwhelming majority (3,356,-

169 for and 118,615 against). The insurgents claimed that the Muslim Algerians had acted under duress, unfair persuasion, and without any real conception of the provisions of the Constitution. Moreover a very large part of the adult population did not take part in the election.

In the middle of September, 1958, the Algerian insurgents broke all ties with France and set up a government-in-exile in Cairo, under the premiership of Ferhat Abbas. Most of the Arab governments immediately recognized it.

Difficulties in the Way of a Settlement

There were enormous difficulties in the way of any practical settlement of the Algerian question. To begin with, two of the most important groups involved in the struggle were extremists and "bitter-enders" who would not hear of compromise. The insurgents demanded complete independence. They wanted the French to get out of Algeria once and for all, as they already had from Tunis and Morocco (Chapter 6). The *colons*, on the other hand, maintained that "Algeria will remain French." They had the backing of the regular army (or at least of the high-ranking officers) and of many conservative and patriotic elements in France itself. The *colons* emphasized that they were not migrants or transients in Algeria. Many of them were born there, or have lived and worked there most of their lives. If the French were to withdraw from Algeria, or even if French influence were weakened, argued the spokesmen of the *colons*, the Europeans would be deluged in an "Arab sea," losing everything, perhaps even their lives.

Not all of the Muslim Algerians were eager to see the French depart. Some of them, as stated above, were devoted to French culture and the French way of life. Some were even reasonably well off under the existing state of affairs and not too eager for a change. Then there were those who doubted the ability of Algeria to thrive as an independent state. It was pointed out, too, that some 400,000 Algerians had moved to France in an effort to improve their economic status. They had a right to do this because Algeria was theoretically part of Metropolitan France, but they might lose their residence rights and work permits if the status of Algeria were changed.

Those Algerian Muslims who opposed independence were silenced by the threats of the FLN. Assassinations of "traitors" were common, both in Algeria and in France.

De Gaulle Tries His Hand

President de Gaulle tried his hand by presenting a plan to raise the abysmally low living standards of the Algerian Muslims. Speaking in the Algerian city of Constantine on October 3, 1958, he presented a five-year program of economic improvement for 1959-1963. During this period 400,000 new jobs were to be created for the Muslims, and the average per capita income was to be raised 5% annually. Within a decade, it was hoped, Algerian production would be doubled. Large-scale construction of homes, schools, and other facilities were to be undertaken.

The civil war continued, however, since the promise of economic improvement by itself did not satisfy the Muslims. To carry on the war, the French were forced to maintain an army of half a million men at a cost of billions of dollars. While the French "pacified" parts of the country, they were unable to terminate the war by crushing FLN resistance. There was no single force at which they could direct a decisive attack, since the FLN adopted guerrilla tactics, striking mainly at night and then fading into the countryside. Nor could the Algerian Muslims be "starved out" so long as they were receiving aid from their eastern and western neighbors (Tunisia and Morocco), to say nothing of the Communist bloc.

To put an end to this terribly costly and hopeless war, President de Gaulle outlined in 1960 a program for an "Algerian Algeria." Under the procedure he envisioned, there were to be two referendums to decide the fate of the country. In the first one, the electorate in France proper and in Algeria was asked to approve a plan of virtual local autonomy. Once peace was restored under this plan, another referendum would determine whether Algeria was to have full independence, or to govern itself while maintaining some links with France, or to remain a part of the French Republic.

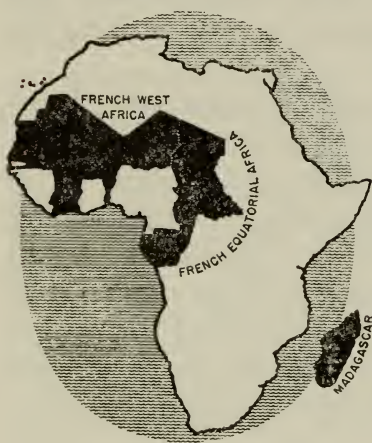
In the first referendum, held in January, 1961, the voters were asked to vote "Yes" or "No" on De Gaulle's proposal, which, in effect would give Algeria provisional autonomy and ultimate free choice of its political future. In France itself, roughly three out of four voters went to the polls, and of these three out of four voted "Yes." In Algeria, however, only six out of ten eligible voters went to the polls, and of these slightly under 70% approved the President's proposal. The Europeans in Algeria apparently voted almost unanimously "No," and the Muslims abstained in large numbers, as the FLN leaders had demanded.

Most observers felt that De Gaulle had won an impressive victory in France itself, but that in Algeria the FLN had shown a strong hold on the Muslim ranks.

The difficulties in settling the Algerian problem were tremendous. The die-hard *colons* (the so-called “ultras”) were clamoring for a “French Algeria,” while many Muslims insisted on dealing with the French through their government-in-exile, which the government of France did not recognize. Between these two extremes, were masses of people (Europeans and Muslims) who represented a wide range of ideas and many conflicting interests. For example, many Frenchmen who recognized the aspirations of the Algerian Muslims to independent nationhood were worried about the future of the more than one million Europeans if they had to live in Algeria under a Muslim regime. Would their civil, political, and economic rights, or even their physical safety, be adequately protected?

THE FRENCH COMMUNITY IN AFRICA

We now turn to a vast chunk of sun-scorched and rain-whipped Africa that covers most of the western “bulge” of the continent and includes some of the world’s great deserts and tropical rain-forests. Until recently, this region was divided into two major groups of colonies known as *French West Africa* and *French Equatorial Africa*. Now it consists of eleven autonomous republics. We shall also take a look at the world’s fourth largest island, *Madagascar*, off the coast of East Africa. This island, too, is now an autonomous republic.



French West Africa

The territory formerly known as French West Africa comprises an area of 1,820,000 square miles. Most of this vast region is desert or semi-arid. In general, it is sparsely populated, with only about 19 million inhabitants.

This region produces many tropical crops, such as palm oil and palm nuts, coffee, bananas, cocoa, and peanuts. In minerals, the area is noted for its bauxite (the ore of aluminum), phosphates, gold, and iron. Large deposits of high-grade iron ore have re-

cently been found. Copper is also mined in considerable quantities.

The people of this region represent a wide variety of types, ranging from groups on a fairly high level of civilization to extremely primitive tribes. In the outlying areas, a large number of the inhabitants are animists, and nearly all of the others are Muslims. Only a small part of the population (perhaps 3%) claim to be Christian.

French West Africa consisted of eight different territories until September 28, 1958. On that day, all French territories, mainland and overseas, voted for or against the new Constitution. It was accepted everywhere with overwhelming majorities, except in the French Guinea territory of French West Africa, where it was decisively rejected because of the influence of a local leader. Following this, Guinea declared her independence, and on October 1, 1958, the new Republic of Guinea was born. Seven autonomous republics were formed from the area that remained affiliated with France.

French Equatorial Africa

Few places in the world are so drenched in sunshine as the region formerly known as French Equatorial Africa and now consisting of four autonomous republics. The area as a whole comprises 969,000 square miles, with a population of only 4½ million.

This region contains some 300,000 square miles of steaming forest, and timber is among its leading products. Together with cotton, forest products account for about 70% of all exports. There are lead, zinc, copper, and gold resources, and deposits of high-grade manganese were discovered recently.

In general, however, this region is economically backward. In all the vast area, there are only a few hundred miles of railroad. Projects are now under consideration for construction of a number of large dams, which are badly needed.

The World's Fourth Largest Island

Madagascar lies off the east coast of Africa, from which it is separated by the Mozambique Channel, some 240 miles wide. It is the fourth largest island in the world, about a quarter of a million square miles, inhabited by roughly 5 million people. Here Africans (including Arabs) are mixed with Indonesians, whose ancestral home is thousands of miles away, in the Far East.

The French did not take possession of this island until toward the close of the 19th century, after a long and tangled history. The nationalist movement began early, but, as elsewhere in Africa, did not come of age until after World War II. In the fall of 1958, the local assembly of the island proclaimed the Malagasy Republic—*la République Malgache*—a free state in the form of a republic, within the Community headed by France. On July 26, 1960, the independence of the island-republic in all fields was solemnly announced in Tananarive, the capital. The new constitution declared “The Malagasy Republic shall be one, indivisible, democratic and social. . . Its motto shall be: ‘Liberty, Country, Progress.’”

A New French “Community”

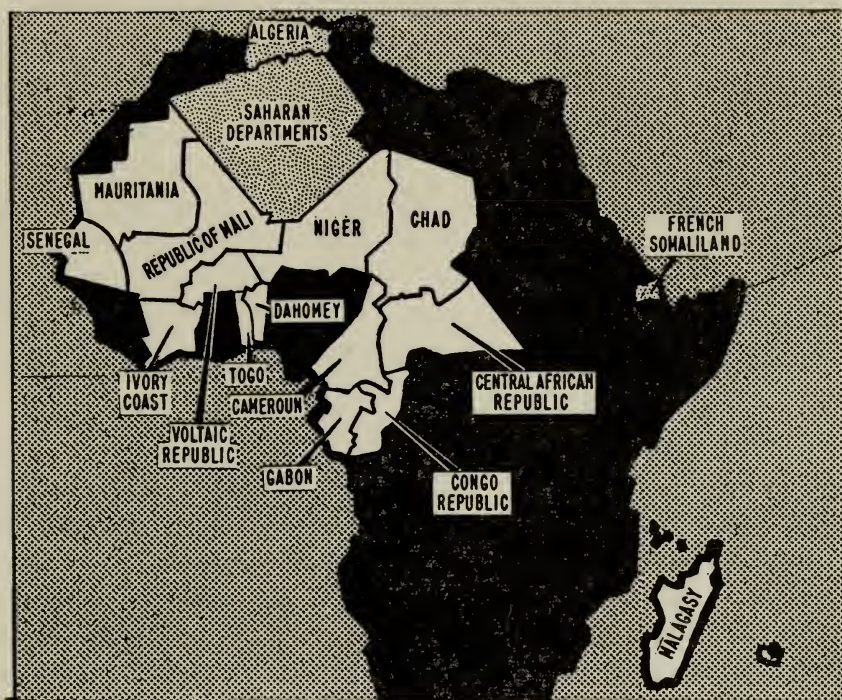
As almost everywhere in the colonial world, independence movements have been sweeping over French Africa. Political parties demanding self-government and independence have been active. Over the years, the French government made limited concessions to native aspirations.

An important development took place in September, 1958, when French Africa (with the single exception of Guinea) voted overwhelmingly in favor of the new Constitution of the Fifth Republic. By so doing, the colonies accepted in effect a new deal offered to them by General Charles de Gaulle.

Under this Constitution, a kind of French Commonwealth, called a *Communauté* (or “Community”) was set up. According to the new supreme law, each territory in the Community, including all those in Africa, was to have full autonomy (self-rule) in local affairs, within certain limitations. Matters common to all the members of the Community, such as defense and foreign affairs, were to be handled by special agencies, in which the voice of Metropolitan France was predominant.

The head of the executive branch of the Community government was the President of the French Republic, assisted by a ministry made up of the Premier of France, the premiers of the various territories, and the heads of government departments. There was also a Senate and a Court of Arbitration performing functions somewhat like those of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Community members wanted more independence, and it was extended to them in 1960. Under the new arrangement, the member republics could join the United Nations and maintain foreign offices of their own. Some also changed their names. Former French West Africa now consisted of the Republics of



"French Africa" today, shown on this map, includes French-controlled territory, members of the Community, and nations which have entered into special agreements with France.

Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger, and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Former French Equatorial Africa became the Central African Republic, the Republic of Chad, the Gabon Republic, and the Congo Republic.*

Under the new arrangement, each of the new nations could decide individually whether or not it would remain within the Community. Six nations decided to continue as Community members: Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Malagasy, and Senegal. Together with the Republic of France, they formed *la Communauté Renouée* (the "remodeled" Community). Each of the other six nations listed above entered into bilateral agreements with France, providing for close cooperation *outside* the Community framework. These provided in general for cultural exchanges, for broad programs of economic assistance (including investment capital and technical know-

* Not to be confused with the republic formed from the territory formerly known as the Belgian Congo. To avoid confusion, the member state of the French Community is known as the *Congo Republic*, while the one-time Belgian territory is called the *Republic of Congo*. The former has its capital at Brazzaville, the latter at Leopoldville.

how), and for coordination of defense policies. France also entered into similar agreements with the new republics of *Togo* and *Cameroun* (formed from former trusteeships—see below) and with *Guinea*, which had become independent in 1958.

Mali chose to remain outside the Community but signed a pact of economic cooperation with France. The Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey, and Niger formed a loose Confederation known as the “Council of the Entente,” which also provided for close relations with France. These states and the African members of the Community formed the “African-Malagasy Union.”

Trust Territories in Africa

Late in the 19th century, Germany took over Togoland and Cameroons located in the great “bulge” of West Africa. When these colonies were lost to Germany as a result of defeat in World War I, Great Britain and France acquired the territories as mandates under the League of Nations. After World War II, they became *trust territories* under United Nations supervision. Four separate trusteeships were formed: *British Togoland*, *French Togoland*, *British Cameroons*, and *French Cameroun*.

Other UN trusteeships in Africa included *Ruanda-Urundi* (under Belgian administration), *Tanganyika* (under British administration), and *Somalia* (under Italian administration).

By 1961, the only trust territory remaining in Africa was Ruanda-Urundi. All of the others, as described below, had become independent nations, or parts of independent nations.

The Republic of Togo

In the spring of 1957 the UN held a plebiscite in British Togoland to decide the future of the territory. The majority voted to join the new nation of Ghana, the neighbor to the west, and Britain went along with this expression of popular opinion. The two former colonies soon federated into an independent nation.

French Togoland was also astir. France promised the UN General Assembly in November, 1957 that this region would have a chance to determine its own fate. In April, 1958 elections were held under UN supervision and the National Unity Party (*Comité de l'Unité Togolaise*), pledged to complete independence, won control of the legislature. Its leader, Sylvanus Olympio, became Prime Minister and in April 1960 the *Republic of Togo* was born.

As indicated above, Togo has entered into an agreement providing for cooperation with France in various fields.

The former German colony of *Kamerun* in West Africa was divided after World War II into two trusteeships. The larger of these (*Cameroun*) was under French administration, while the British administered an area (*Cameroons*) between Cameroun and Nigeria.

The Republic of Cameroun became independent on January 1, 1960 under the leadership of Prime Minister Ahmadou Ahidjo. Savage riots broke out in parts of the country sparked by forces which maintained that real power remained in French hands and that the independence gained was spurious. The new government called in French troops to put down the rebellion.

The future of the British Cameroons aroused considerable difference of opinion. The area was too small and too sparsely populated to have much chance as an independent country. Continuation of the trusteeship was ruled out. Clearly, the area would have to become a part of one of its newly independent neighbors—but was this to be Nigeria or Cameroun? A plebiscite revealed a preponderance of opinion in the north in favor of Nigeria, and in the south in favor of Cameroun. Accordingly, in 1961, the former British trusteeship was divided almost exactly in half on this basis.

NOTE: The Italian trust territory of Somaliland joined with British Somaliland in 1960, forming a new nation known as *Somalia*. (French Somaliland, however, continued under French control.)

THINGS TO DO

1. The two great colonial powers of the 19th century, Britain and France, have tried to adapt themselves to the conditions of the 20th century by creating a "Commonwealth" and a "Community," respectively. In what respects do these two groupings resemble each other? What significant differences are there? You can get the latest and most authoritative information by writing to the British Information Services, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y., and to the French Embassy, Press and Information Division, 972 Fifth Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

2. A short but revealing book on the situation in Algeria is *Algeria—The Realities*, by Germaine Tillon (Knopf, 1958). On the basis of this book and other similar materials, arrange a class debate or round-table discussion on the merits of the arguments presented by the Muslim natives and the European *colons* in Algeria.

3. Consult the *World Almanac*, the *Information Please Almanac*, or other reliable sources, and compile basic statistics relating to the new African nations treated in this chapter. Then construct a chart for class display. What conclusions or judgments can you draw from this statistical summary?

THE CONGO AND THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS

The Congo straddles the Equator in the heart of Africa, but it has only a 30-mile sliver of coast along the Atlantic. From the time that the first white men set foot in this area, the Congo has been much in the news—at first, because of the ruthless rule of a European king; then, because of its great mineral wealth; and, quite recently, because of the chaos into which the country was plunged after its independence had been proclaimed.

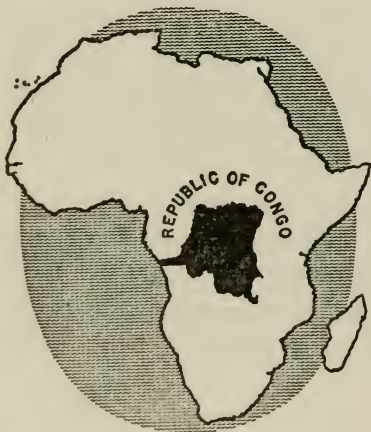
In this chapter we shall also deal with the Portuguese possessions which flank southern portions of Africa, facing two oceans.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

A Giant in Size and Wealth

Until the middle of 1960 the Congo was a Belgian colony which eclipsed the “mother country” in size. Indeed, with its area of 904,000 square miles, it was some 80 times larger than Belgium, and it had a population of about 14 million.

The name of the Congo usually suggests to us the vast and varied mineral resources for which the region is famed. Its deposits of uranium and cobalt are particularly important in the present Nuclear Age. The Congo ranks first among the nations of the world in production of cobalt, and it is a leader in diamonds, mining more than 12 million carats a year. The most famous diamond deposits are in Katanga province. Katanga is also important for its copper mines, which make the Congo the world's fifth largest producer of this key metal of modern civilization. Other minerals produced in Katanga include silver, columbium, tantalite, tin, and gold. A giant company, the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, operated these mines, and it has played a leading role in the entire history of the Congo.



The Congo also has soil and climatic conditions suitable for many crops. Most important of its farm products are palm oil, nuts, coffee, rubber, copal, and sugar cane.

The people belong to a large number of groups as they do almost everywhere in Africa. The contrast between the tallest and smallest people in the world, which we have already noted, can be observed in its most extreme form in the Congo. There is a great diversity of languages.

A King Who Was Also a Businessman

The story of how Belgium acquired this rich colony has no exact parallel in modern colonial history. The Belgians were never a colonizing nation, and—unlike the Portuguese—they have no other colony. (A small part of German East Africa, *Ruanda-Urundi*, was attached to the Congo after World War I.)

It was just one Belgian—not Belgium as a nation—who acquired the Congo. But he was indeed an important individual, the King of the Belgians, Leopold II, who ruled from 1865 until 1909. Astute, greedy, and with a taste for high living, Leopold wanted huge sums of money for his own use. He saw his chance when the journalist-explorer Henry M. Stanley pointed out to him the rich rubber potential of the huge Congo region in Central Africa. Needing a large amount of capital to follow up Stanley's lead, Leopold organized a private corporation, with himself as the chief stockholder. Then he asked an international conference in Berlin (1884-85) to grant him authority to rule over what he called the Congo Free State, not as the Belgian King but as a private individual. This authority was granted.

In Brussels, under the restraints of Belgian laws and customs, Leopold signed the documents placed before him by his ministers and acted as a constitutional monarch, more a symbol than an actual ruler. In the Congo, however, his rule was absolute, and it was fantastically cruel and inhuman. Little children were recruited to labor in the mines and on the rubber plantations, and they were severely punished, sometimes by mutilation, for unsatisfactory work. Countless natives were slaughtered. The population of the Congo in 1900 was estimated at 20 million, but so many were killed that even today it stands at only 14 million. Finally, the conscience of the world was aroused, and the criticism became so strong that in 1908 the King had to release his hold, and the unfortunate "Free State" became a Belgian colony.

Paternalistic Rule

The type of rule the Belgians introduced and continued with some modification for many years was markedly different from either the French or the British system. The Belgians themselves called their method "paternalistic"—like the relation between a father and his children. This implied that the natives were to be treated more or less like children, with absolute power in the hands of the Belgian masters. It also implied, as the Belgians emphasized, a strong sense of responsibility for the well-being of the natives.

In general, the Belgians tried to live up to this responsibility. No other power in Africa spent so much on public health—about 10% of all public expenditures. The natives, in general, lived in better villages under better conditions than almost anywhere else in Africa. The government made an effort to help the people learn various trades. It was notable, however, that the training program did not include any provision for higher education. Since there were no plans for self-government, there was no sense (from the Belgian point of view) in training an "elite corps" of young Congolese capable of running a modern state.

Relations Between the Races

During the late 1950's, there were only about 300,000 Europeans living in the Congo. The government deliberately limited European immigration, in order to prevent the African economy from being drained and to reserve opportunities for the natives. Even so, estimates prior to 1960 indicated that about 75% of the total income was going to whites, both within Africa and "back home" in Belgium.

The color line in the Congo under Belgian rule was not entirely inflexible, and certainly there was none of the brutality that marked the nightmare reign of King Leopold. Still, natives and whites occupied separate quarters in key areas. The natives were not allowed to form political parties, but the same was true of the whites. The theory was that the appointed administration was quite capable of taking care of all political matters without popular guidance or prodding. In short, "Papa knows best."

A New Era in the Congo

This policy of "enlightened paternalism" prevailed in the Congo for many years, and there was a widespread impression that the

situation was stable and all but immune to sudden and far-reaching changes. But in the late 1950's, the currents of African nationalism hit the colony with stunning force and results.

In 1957, the administration permitted popular election of local officials for the first time. All qualified citizens, regardless of race, could vote.

A new political organization merged which, significantly, called itself "African Conscience." While it proposed a moderate program, it was something new in the history of the colony. It envisaged independence after a long "apprenticeship" period.

While these signs of political development were appearing, the Belgian administration continued to wrestle with economic problems. In 1958, the government announced a Ten-Year Plan of economic improvements to cost one billion dollars.

In the face of all the attempts of the Belgian government to avoid "trouble" by making such concessions, riots broke out in Leopoldville (the capital and largest city) early in 1959. It was clear that the "independence fever" sweeping across the face of Africa had finally hit this vast, rich, and politically backward colony.

Independence and a Time of Troubles

Quickly, Belgium outlined a program for gradual attainment of self-rule, but time was running short. Congolese representatives drew up a constitution, under which the country was to be a republic. The leader of the party winning the largest number of seats in the legislature, based on nationwide elections, was to be the Prime Minister, the most important post. Parliament, in turn, was to elect the President.

As riots broke out in many parts of the Congo, Belgium agreed to speed the day of independence. The new nation was to be proclaimed on June 30, 1960, with national elections to take place before that date. Political parties began to mushroom, with some 200 groups appearing on the scene. Although many of them soon dropped out of sight, about 20 parties remained to compete at the elections in May. Under the circumstances, no single party could win a majority. The largest number of seats was gained by the *Mouvement National Congolais*, headed by a fiery politician, Patrice Lumumba, a former post office clerk. He became the Prime Minister of the country, and Parliament then elected Joseph Kasavubu to be President of the Congo. Kasavubu was head of the *Abako* Party, which had its stronghold in the lower Congo region.

No sooner was independence proclaimed than large-scale disorders occurred in the new country. Belgians were attacked, and many of them left the country in a panic. Belgium thereupon decided to fly its own troops into the former colony to protect its nationals there. Premier Lumumba asked the United Nations to send military forces to help restore order and forestall what he regarded as the threat of a new Belgian occupation. To complicate the situation even more, the province of Katanga proclaimed its secession from the Congo Republic, and its Premier, Moise Tshomba, asked Belgium to send more troops, presumably against Lumumba. The first UN troops began arriving on July 15 under the command of a Swedish general. Eventually, this army was made up of 20,000 soldiers, representing 15 nations, mainly from Asia and Africa.

On August 9, 1960, the chief of the Baluba tribe, Albert Kalonji, proclaimed the establishment of another government in Congo's Kasai province. This was evidence of strong tribal rivalries among the many groups making up the population of the Congo, including the Balubas, the Lulus, the Kaniokas, and others. On September 5, President Kasavubu ousted Premier Lumumba. Matters were further complicated when the commander-in-chief of the new Congolese army, Joseph Mobutu, formerly a sergeant in the Belgian colonial service, seized the initiative in forming a government. His cabinet consisted of 15 young men, some of them barely literate. The Congolese army became demoralized and unruly; random violence and looting were followed by conflict with the UN forces. Kasavubu gained the upper hand and had Lumumba arrested. The former Premier escaped but was quickly recaptured. Both he and Kasavubu had representatives at the UN in New York claiming to be the legal spokesmen of the Republic of the Congo and asking to be seated there. The Soviet Union and several African countries sided with Lumumba, while the United States and other influential Western powers took the side of Kasavubu. Eventually, the UN accepted the latter as the legal representative of the Congo and seated his delegate.

Chaos in the Congo was intensified and rendered more dangerous by the fact that various powers were interested only in exploiting the situation for their own benefit. The Soviet Union kept on working behind the scenes for the Lumumba faction. A UN report, however, placed most of the blame for the chaos on the attitude of the Belgians, former masters of the Congo. "There is clear evidence of the steady return in recent weeks of

Belgians to the Congo," a UN report charged in mid-December, "and within this framework, of increasing Belgian participation in political and administrative activities"

Former Premier Lumumba was found murdered in February, 1961. Congo President Kasavubu now installed Joseph Ileo as Premier, but he lasted only a few months. Cyrille Adoula was designated as his successor in August, 1961. Leaders decided that the republic should become a "confederation" of provinces.

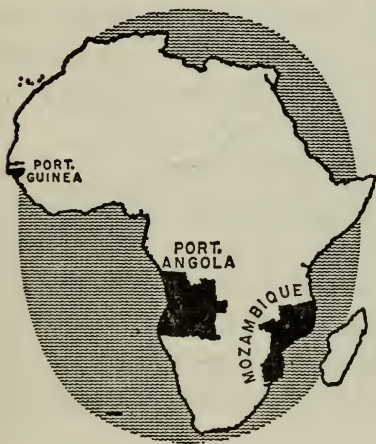
Subsequently, Katanga, the richest province of the Congo, seceded. The central government now asked the UN to bring back Katanga into the fold, so as to forestall the disintegration of the country. The UN blamed the powerful *Union Minière* mining company and "white mercenaries" for the continued unrest. UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld sought to restore peace in the region, and it was while on this mission that he lost his life in a plane accident late in 1961.

Finally, Katanga's President Moise Tshombe and the central government's Premier Adoula reached an agreement in December 1961 to end the secession. Whether or not this would bring peace and stabilization to the Congo remained to be determined. Antoine Gizenga, successor to Lumumba, continued for a time to dominate Oriental Province in the east. Early in 1962, however, his forces were crushed and his power appeared to be at an end.

PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN EMPIRE

Colonies Facing Two Oceans

The African colonies of Portugal flank the continent, facing both the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. The larger of the two, *Angola*, or *Portuguese West Africa*, has an area of 481,351 square miles and an estimated population of 4,500,000. Its thousand-mile coastline on the Atlantic stretches southward from the mouth of the Congo River. *Mozambique*, or *Portuguese East Africa*, has an area of 297,731 square miles and a population of about 6 million. These figures should be considered in relation to the fact that Portugal itself has an area of 34,466 square miles and a population of about 8,800,000.



Historically, Portugal's empire is based on the exploits of Portuguese adventurer-explorers in the 15th and 16th centuries and on settlements along the coast of Africa. An early treaty with England and continued British support were largely instrumental in enabling Portugal to hold on to its empire. The British were satisfied to have a small, friendly nation control these strategic areas and thus keep them out of the hands of more potent rivals, such as Spain, France, and (later) Germany.

The known resources of Angola and Mozambique include diamonds, silver, manganese, sulfur, and coal. The main agricultural products are cotton, coffee, oil seeds, coconuts, tobacco, and cattle. Neither region, especially Angola, has been adequately explored, and there may be many undiscovered resources.

Officially, these two huge territories are not colonies but rather "overseas provinces" of Portugal.

A Backward Region

Portuguese Africa has been called the most backward region in Africa, as regards education, sanitation, physical development, investment, and trade. The neglect of native education in Portuguese Africa is a deliberate and official policy, based admittedly on the belief that if the natives received more education, they would be more receptive to the "contamination" of nationalism, which the government considers subversive.

The European population of both these areas is extremely small, estimated at about 80,000 in Angola and perhaps 50,000 in Mozambique. There are also small numbers of Asians. Moreover, the government limits further white immigration.

The whites are definitely the ruling class. On the other hand, there is not an inflexible color bar based on racist doctrines. A native who has gained some education and has shown unusual ability or usefulness to the administration may be considered to be *assimilado* or *civilizado*. A person who has attained this status is regarded legally as "white," no matter how black he may be. But very few natives have been "assimilated" in this way.

The status of the great mass of "unassimilated" natives is far from enviable. They are made to live separately from the whites, in the less desirable locations. They may be hired out in groups to work on large plantations, where the owner often treats them virtually as if they were slaves. Even if they cannot find free jobs, the natives *must* work in Portuguese Africa. Any man who is unemployed is considered a "vagrant" and may be put to work on

some public project, such as a road-building gang. Labor is also recruited in this way for railways, mines, and plantations.

There is one liberal feature in this very illiberal policy. Africans of "mixed blood" in these Portuguese possessions may be considered "white." The reverse rule prevails in most parts of Africa.

Early in 1961, rioting in Angola indicated that the militant spirit of African nationalism might finally be reaching Portugal's "tranquil" colonies.

Other Portuguese Possessions in Africa

Other overseas possessions of Portugal on and off the continent of Africa include: *Portuguese Guinea*, the earliest European foothold south of the Sahara, dating back to 1484; the *Cape Verde Islands* in the Atlantic; and *San Tomé and Príncipe* in the Gulf of Guinea, just under the "bulge." All of these regions grow various tropical products.

Spain in Africa

Spain at one time had a sizable African empire, but most of it has been lost. The possessions retained are small and unimportant. They include *Río de Oro*, on the Saharan coast; *Ifni*, an enclave in the Kingdom of Morocco; *Spanish Guinea*, on the west coast; and several islands off the west coast.

The former Spanish Morocco, on the top of the continent, has been absorbed by the Kingdom of Morocco (page 75).

Ceuta and *Melilla*, fortified posts on the North African coast facing Gibraltar, are considered parts of Spain's mainland province of Cadiz.

THINGS TO DO

1. The policy which Belgium followed in the Congo has been called a "formula for chaos." Do you agree with this characterization? Explain with reference to specific events, both before and after the granting of independence.

2. With reference to Portugal's African empire, explain (a) how it was formed, (b) the policies by which it has been governed, (c) the present-day situation and prospects for the future.

3. Write to the Curriculum Material Corporation, 426 N. Calvert St., Baltimore 2, Md. for a catalogue of filmstrips on Africa. These deal with various aspects of African life, including the areas covered in this chapter. Your school may want to purchase some of these filmstrips.

CHAPTER 6

THE INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES OF AFRICA

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

A Country of Many Rich Resources

The Republic of South Africa was formerly a member of the (British) Commonwealth under the name of *Union of South Africa*. Although it enjoyed a status of full independence, it decided in 1961 to withdraw from the Commonwealth and become a republic.

The Republic of South Africa has an area of about 472,000 square miles, roughly twice the size of Texas. Its population in the early 1960's was approaching 15 million.

In the Republic of South Africa, we are back in the temperate zone. Nature here presents no overwhelming obstacles for man to overcome. Indeed, in climate, location, soil and subsoil resources, nature has been exceptionally kind to this region.

The resource which we usually think of first in connection with the Republic of South Africa is gold. The Republic leads the world in production of the precious yellow metal, and it is the largest single item of export.

South Africa is also prominently associated with diamonds. The Kimberley fields are legendary. In 1956, the output of diamonds reached a record figure of 150 million dollars. In recent years, however, uranium has become even more important. The deposits in this country are believed to be the largest in the world. Other minerals of great commercial importance include copper, tin, and chrome. Mining operations in South Africa are controlled by a number of giant corporations, including the De Beers Consolidated Mines (established in 1888 by Cecil Rhodes), the Anglo-American Corporation, and the Rhodesian Anglo-American Company.

The largest customer for South African minerals is the United States. The Republic usually supplies about 60% of our cobalt, 35% of our chrome and 35% of our manganese.

The second largest source of foreign revenues for South Africa is normally wool. Among the important agricultural products are grains, cotton, tobacco, citrus fruits, sugar cane, and tea.

South Africa is the only important manufacturing country on the entire continent. Employment in manufacturing industries and in building construction has increased about fourfold within the last 30 years. Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Pretoria are modern industrial and commercial centers. Here we find the largest network of highways and railroads in all of Africa.

The Republic of South Africa has two national capitals—even three, according to some observers. The administrative capital is Pretoria, while the legislative capital is Cape Town. When the national legislature is in session, the government packs up and moves south to Cape Town. The “judicial capital” of the country is in the small town of Bloemfontein, where its Supreme Court sits.



The Problem of Race Relations in South Africa

The vast majority of the people of the Republic of South Africa are Negroes, but they carry no weight in political, social, or economic affairs. It is the white minority that runs the country, and its methods are extremely harsh.

Of the total population of 14 million, about 9½ million are Bantu. (This figure also includes the remnants of the original

Bushmen and Hottentot inhabitants of the region.) The color of the Bantus, as we have already noted, ranges from olive brown to very dark; ethnologists consider them "Negroid," rather than true Negroes. Then there are the people whom the South Africans call "colored"—that is people of mixed blood (part white and part Negro). There are about 1.3 million of these. South Africa is also the home of about half a million people from India, concentrated in the east coast province of Natal, facing the Indian Ocean. The whites in South Africa are known as "Europeans," irrespective of their origin. There are roughly 3 million of them. About 60% are *Afrikaner*, of mixed Dutch descent, who speak *Afrikaans*, derived directly from Dutch. The others are mainly of British origin and are English-speaking.

The key to South Africa's population problem lies in the attitudes and policies of the *Afrikaner* group. Taking the population as a whole they constitute only a small minority, yet they have been able to enforce their standards and ideas on the entire country. They believe fanatically in the superiority of the white race, and they are almost neurotically fearful that they may be swallowed up or overwhelmed by the black majority. Their prescription to deal with this situation is the policy of *Apartheid*, or virtually complete segregation of the races.

Apartheid in Action

Segregation in parts of our own country is, of course, well known. This, however, applies only in a number of states, and it is under vigorous attack today, as the national government and the courts take action to protect the non-white minority. The Constitution, the nation's basic law, spells out clearly the rights of all Americans, regardless of color. In the Republic of South Africa, however, all the laws, all the courts, all the powers and resources of the government are devoted to enforcing the most extreme form of segregation and inferior status for non-whites.

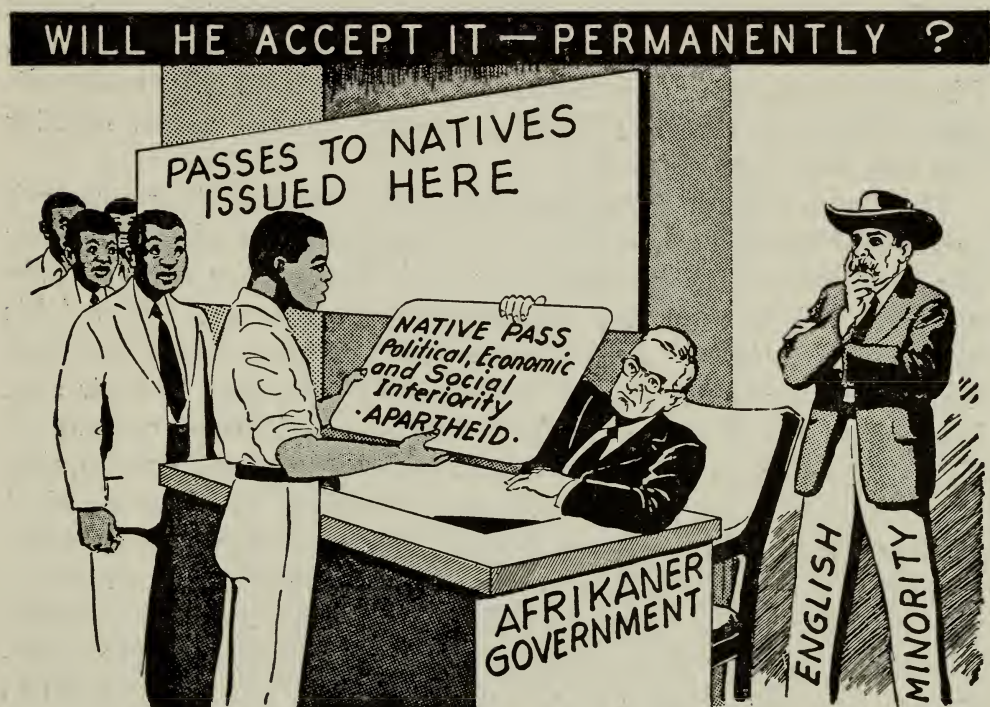
The natives, contemptuously called *Kaffirs* by the South African racists, have been thoroughly segregated. Some 4 million of them, representing the largest single group, must live in so-called "native reserves," which are much like concentration camps. Outside these reserves, they have no right to acquire land. Many non-whites employed in mines live in compounds surrounded by barbed wire, often separated from their families for long periods.

Outside of the reserves and the compounds, the natives are subject to unlimited and arbitrary exercise of power by the

authorities. On more than one occasion, many thousands of them have been ordered, on a few hours notice, to leave their homes and move to another location.

At all times, the natives are forbidden to move about freely and must always be in possession of several "passes" issued by the authorities, employers, or even a white child of the household for which they work. Since it is all but impossible to observe all these restrictions, even with the best intentions, about a million natives are arrested in an average year for pass law infractions. Among the innumerable laws designed to restrict and harass the natives are the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, and the Suppression of Communism Act. "Communism," it need hardly be said, is arbitrarily interpreted by the authorities to mean any idea or action which they dislike. Even with no specific charge made against him, a native in South Africa may be confined to jail for months.

In the economic field, the natives are employed only in the least desirable types of industrial and domestic work, and the wages they earn are pitifully low. Politically, they are disfranchised and without any normal means of influencing the policies of the government under which they live.



Opposition to Apartheid

Many South Africans, including writers, teachers, clergymen, lawyers, and others, are opposed to this fanatical racial policy. Examples are the Reverend Michael Scott, author of *A Time to Speak*, an eloquent plea for human brotherhood, and Alan S. Paton, national chairman of the South African Liberal Party and famous author of such novels as *Cry the Beloved Country* and *Too Late the Phalarope*. Several hundred individuals belonging to both races, including prominent professional people and intellectuals, have been made to stand trial in recent years for having advocated the cause of common justice and decency to the natives.

It is true that most of the outspoken and prominent white supporters of native rights in South Africa are British. It is well known, however, that even among the Afrikaners, there are many who are opposed to the extreme policies of *apartheid*. Too often, however, these more reasonable Afrikaners allow themselves to be silenced by the pressure of the dominant public opinion in their communities. Thus, the only voices heard are those supporting unalloyed racism.

The "Justification" for Apartheid

What is the presumed justification for *apartheid*? It is sad to say that many Afrikaners, members of the Dutch Reformed Church, quote, or rather *misquote*, the Bible to justify these policies. They say that the black man was created as an inferior and meant to remain so forever.

The South African segregationists also argue that their country's prosperity has been created by the Europeans and that only they can maintain it. The Bantus, it is said, flooded the country only *after* the white man had developed its resources. Thus (this argument continues) it is incorrect to say that the white man has taken over and reduced the Negroes to peonage in their own homeland. South Africa is the homeland of Europeans—not of Negro "immigrants." The Afrikaners emphasize, incidentally, that they are not Dutch citizens and cannot "return" to Holland. Most of them have been living in South Africa for many generations.

Behind this doubtful history, and even more doubtful theology, it is easy to see the true psychological background of *apartheid*. The real basis for it is selfishness, arrogance, and simple arithmetic. The whites are a small minority. They are accustomed to dominating the natives and to enjoying a far higher standard of

living. They are determined to retain these privileges, and they are aware that they cannot hope to do so if the Negroes have full political and social rights. They see new Negro states (such as Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria) formed in Africa, and they see the few remaining outposts of white supremacy under severe pressure. They are determined above all to make sure that nothing like this happens in South Africa, and in order to prevent it, they resort to naked force and brutality.

Is there a solution to this fearful dilemma? We will be in a better position to answer this if we take a look at the history of South Africa.

Dutch and British in South Africa

Beginning about the middle of the 17th century, the southern tip of Africa was settled by Dutch pioneers who liked the "wide open spaces" and the delightful climate of the region and wanted to get away from the constant turmoil of Europe. They quickly overcame the native peoples (Hottentots and Bushmen) whom they found in the Cape area, and settled down to carry on farming, cattle raising, and trading. There was a great deal of fighting, however, to hold back the warlike Bantu tribes from the north.

Early in the 19th century, Holland fell under the sway of Napoleon. The British, Napoleon's chief rival, decided to move into the Cape Territory in order to head off the French and to protect their vital sea route to the East. After the close of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, British settlers began to stream into South Africa. They "interfered" with the Dutch in various ways, including notably the abolition of slavery, which the Dutch had introduced soon after their settlement of the region.

The independent-minded Dutch settlers, who proudly called themselves *Boers* (peasants), decided to move north so as to put a considerable distance between themselves and the British. Thus, in 1836, began the "Great Trek." As one writer (John Gunther) has put it, this event means to Afrikaners today what Paul Revere's Ride, Custer's Last Stand, Valley Forge, and the Alamo all mean to Americans. The migrating Dutch crossed the Orange and Vaal Rivers and eventually set up two republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Before this could be done, however, bloody battles were fought with the Zulu tribes.

In their new homes, the Dutch enjoyed the "isolation" they wanted until an important event—the discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1884. Fabulously rich deposits were found, particularly in the Witwatersrand area, commonly called "The Rand."

This was the sign for the British (led by Cecil Rhodes) to move into the Transvaal, in order to exploit the mineral resources. The Dutch resisted, under the leadership of President Paul Kruger, and the situation exploded into the Boer War (1899-1902), which the British won after a hard fight. They treated the vanquished people generously, however, and in 1910 set up the Union of South Africa (composed of Cape Province, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal). It became a self-governing dominion within the British Empire and, as indicated above, withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1961.

Unionists vs. Nationalists

Some of the Boer generals who had fought the British became highly respected statesmen of the British Empire and Prime Ministers at home. Best known among them was Jan Smuts. He and his colleagues headed the United South African Party—*Unionists*—which favored close ties with Britain. The supporters of this party have been predominantly of British origin. The opposition party, the *Nationalists*, have favored separation from Britain and a stringent racial policy.

The Unionists managed to remain in power for many years, but the Nationalists won control of the government in the parliamentary elections of 1948. This led to the adoption of *apartheid* as an official government policy. The first Nationalist Prime Minister was Daniel Malan. He seemed an uncompromising extremist, but turned out to be a “moderate” in comparison with his successor Johannes G. Strijdom, an all-out segregationist. When Strijdom died in 1958, he was followed as Prime Minister by Hendrik F. Verwoerd, who had been the real driving force behind his country’s racial policies as Minister for Native Affairs.

The Role of British South Africans

South Africans of British origin are less numerous than the Dutch, but they are far more influential in the economic field. They dominate big business, notably mining and trade. In racial matters they are certainly not as extreme as many of their countrymen of Dutch origin. It might seem that they would be able to serve as a moderating force.

Unfortunately, they have not assumed this role with much effectiveness. As often happens, those people who have an extreme point of view and are aggressive about it tend to dominate

public opinion in the entire community. A climate of opinion is created which only the strongest can resist — and there are not too many of them in a rich country where most people are concerned more with their own economic welfare than with obtaining some degree of social justice for the natives.

As long as South Africa remained within the Commonwealth, it was subject to a certain amount of pressure from Britain and from the other member nations (many of them with predominantly non-white populations) to moderate its racial policies. Indeed, it was the severe criticism of apartheid by Commonwealth members in 1961 which led to the decision to withdraw and become a republic. The issue was submitted to a plebiscite (with only whites voting, of course), and the government's proposal to leave the Commonwealth was approved by a narrow margin. The long-term effects of this step, in terms of economics as well as race relations, remain to be determined. For the time being, at least, the country remains within the sterling bloc.

What Can Be Done About It?

What solutions have been offered for this appalling problem?

The "solution" of the government is unqualified and absolute white supremacy and segregation. Within this context, there may be some minor economic improvement for the natives, but basically their status will remain as it is now.

Another suggestion offered (although not by the Nationalists) is the creation of two distinct states within some kind of federal union. One would be white, the other Negro, and contacts between them would be held to an absolute minimum. Many thoughtful people, however, believe that it would be folly to try to tear apart a region which is a natural economic unit. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the economy of South Africa depends on native labor (for example, in the mining industries), and that even the most rabid Nationalists do not propose carrying segregation so far as to prevent the natives from doing the hard, poorly paid, but essential work.

The most liberal opinion in South Africa favors a gradual policy of lowering the barriers between the races, raising the economic standards of the non-whites, and enabling them to play a greater role in their own country. No sensible person minimizes the difficulty of carrying out such a program, but leaders of the type of Alan S. Paton are confident that with intelligence and good will, substantial progress can be made over a period of time.

What are the prospects for the adoption of a reform program based on intelligence and good will? Scarcely any, at the present time. The Nationalist government is determined to proceed along the lines of extreme and unbending racism. With African nationalism on the upsurge everywhere, and with the huge native population of South Africa increasingly restless and bitter, the explosive possibilities of this situation can scarcely be exaggerated.

South-West Africa

Adjacent to the Republic of South Africa to the northwest and facing the Atlantic Ocean is South-West Africa. It is an area of 317,725 square miles, with a small population, about half a million. Most of it is desert, very inadequately explored.

This territory was a German colony before World War I. After that war it became a mandate in the hands of the Union of South Africa under League of Nations supervision. After World War II, South-West Africa was to be turned into a trusteeship territory, governed by the Union of South Africa, under United Nations supervision. The Union, however, cold-shouldered the UN. It assumed full administrative power in the southern part of the territory, known as the "police zone"; and it placed the northern section, one of the most primitive regions in Africa, out of bounds for the whites. When the UN sought to exercise its authority in this region, the Union broke temporarily with the world body. In 1958, however, it expressed readiness to make a compromise. Under this, the southern zone was to be annexed to the Union, while the northern zone would become a trust territory. This was considered little more than an attempt to "save face" for the UN, since the northern zone is too primitive to be of any importance.

Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland

Three British protectorates are imbedded in the Republic of South Africa—*Basutoland*, *Bechuanaland*, and *Swaziland*. It is no secret that the South African government would like to absorb them. The British feel, however, that it would be morally wrong and politically disadvantageous to turn over these territories, with their predominantly native populations, to the tender mercies of the South African racists. The British authorities propose to relinquish their hold gradually in Basutoland and Bechuanaland, which are to govern themselves, while Swaziland will remain for a time under its own tribal chiefs.

LIBERIA

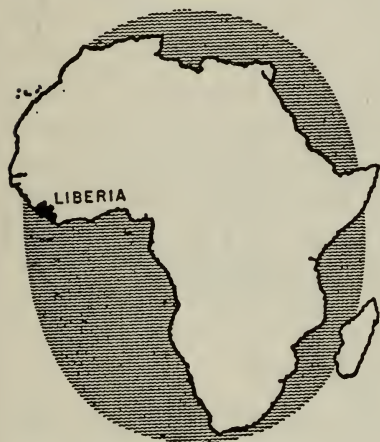
An All-Negro Republic

Until the recent establishment of Ghana and of Guinea, Liberia was the only all-Negro republic in Africa. It is a little larger than Tennessee, 43,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 1½ million. Liberia means "The Land of the Free."

Economic Resources

Liberia's main economic resource is its rubber plantations. The most important of these are those maintained by the Firestone Plantations Company, with headquarters in Herbel, Liberia, and

Akron, Ohio. In 1926, it acquired a huge concession, up to a million acres, but only about 9% has as yet been used. Later, the Goodrich Rubber Company also obtained a concession which is expected to begin production in 1962. There are also smaller independent Liberian producers. The United States—the largest rubber consumer of the world—obtains most of its natural rubber from the Far East. Outside the Far East, Liberia is now the largest producer.



Extremely high-grade iron ore is now being mined in the Bomi Hills of Liberia. There are many indications that the country is rich in other minerals. At various times diamonds, bauxite, corundum, manganese, cassiterite, and platinum have been found within the borders of Liberia.

Among the crops produced in Liberia are rice, coffee, cocoa, cassava and sugar. Recently a West German corporation obtained concessions to set up banana and oil palm plantations.

The Liberian People—A Study in Contrasts

The 1½ million people of Liberia present a great contrast in intellectual and social development. About 95% of the people are the aboriginal natives of the interior. Most of these tribesmen live on an extremely primitive level. Indeed, some of them practiced cannibalism until recently.

An entirely different world is found on the coast, the home of some 20,000 Americo-Liberians, many of whom are the descendants of the founders of the country. Here the influence of modern Western civilization is clearly dominant. In this same coastal region live about 40,000 other persons, mainly foreigners, who serve as businessmen, professionals, diplomats, etc.

Many-Sided American Influence

American reformers and philanthropists, seeking a home for freed slaves, laid the foundations of Liberia in 1822. In 1847 the "Free and Independent Republic of Liberia" was established. Liberia's constitution was patterned on that of the United States and the framework of government is still much like our own. There is a President, a two-house Congress, a Supreme Court, etc. The country's official language is English. Monrovia, the capital city, was named after James Monroe, fifth President of the United States. The Liberian currency is the dollar. The Liberian Frontier Force, which is a miniature army, is being trained by American officers. Unofficially, Liberia is under the protection of our own country. United States companies have the largest investments in Liberia, and American experts are at work on Liberian "Point Four" projects to improve methods of production.

The Rulers and the Ruled

The parallel between the United States and Liberia, however, ends with the externals and other features mentioned above. The sad fact is that Liberia has not been, and is not, a functioning democracy. The coastal Americo-Liberians are the ruling class, and the people of the tribal interior feel their heavy hands. Public health costs the government less than its brass bands, wrote the English writer, Vernon Bartlett, in his *Struggle for Africa* a few years ago. He also noted that infant mortality was 75%, one of the highest in the world. "Civilized" Liberians sold their "uncivilized" countrymen into slavery not long ago, and some of the highest government officials were involved in the trade. "The people are too poor," wrote John Gunther, author of *Inside Africa*, "too mercilessly exploited." He pointed out that the country had 1480 school teachers in a recent year, when at the very least 24,000 were needed to do even a minimum job of education. And of the 1480, many did not have even an elementary school diploma.

The President of the country, William V. S. Tubman, was first elected to his office in 1943 and he has been re-elected periodically since then. Apparently, he has a lifetime job as President, commander-in-chief, and party boss. He is, however, the first Liberian President to pay some attention to the welfare of the people in the hinterland. He has declared his intention of trying to minimize the glaring differences between the Americo-Liberians and the natives in the interior.

All in all, however, it is only fair to say that the Liberian experiment has been far from satisfactory so far. It is unfortunate that the descendants of the oppressed should have become, in some respects, their own people's worst oppressors. The group in power may be beginning to see only now that it is futile to copy the forms of democracy without sincerely trying to realize its spirit and real benefits.

GOLDEN GHANA

A New Nation in Black Africa

The first colony in Black Africa to achieve independence in the 20th century was the Gold Coast, on the great western "bulge."



The Gold Coast, a former British possession, was renamed *Ghana*, the name of an ancient African kingdom. In March, 1957, Ghana's independence was proclaimed. By a unanimous vote of the General Assembly, it promptly became a member of the United Nations. It joined the British Commonwealth "club," the first all-black member of that formerly all-white body. The area of Ghana is 91,843 square miles, just a little smaller than our Oregon, and it has a population of about 5 million.

Economic Resources

Gold was the most important product of this region in the past—hence its old name. Now it is the largest producer of cocoa, supplying more than a third of the world's output. Ghana is also rich in bauxite, the ore of aluminum, and in manganese, which is

needed to strengthen steel. The heavily wooded shoreline yields much valuable timber.

It was the British who welded this area into a political unit. Originally, the coast and the hinterland were separate regions. Between the two was the land of the Ashanti, a fiercely independent tribe who fought the British until the beginning of this century. Even today the hinterland is tribalized, living under native chiefs.

The Gold Coast has never attracted large numbers of permanent settlers of the white race, and the absence of Europeans has facilitated the transformation from a dependency into a sovereign nation. There is no "race problem" to solve, because essentially there is only one race in the country.

The Articulate Mr. Nkrumah

Ghana's history is associated with the name of Kwame Nkrumah, nation-founder and its first Prime Minister. He became probably the best known black African in the world, and a widely recognized symbol of African nationalism.

Nkrumah's education began in a Catholic mission school and continued at the Achimota College of Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast. He went to the United States in order to widen his horizon, and studied at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, receiving degrees in science and theology.

Upon his return to the Gold Coast, he plunged into political life, using an already existing political organization, the Convention People's Party, as his vehicle. The party demanded independence from the British within the Commonwealth. The young scholar became convinced that independence could be won only through struggle. He started a campaign of peaceful civil disobedience and fomented strikes, for which he was imprisoned. Up and down the Gold Coast, his name became legendary, and he was given an all but unanimous vote for a legislative seat in Accra. From jail—where he spent fourteen months—he went into a position of political power. The British were convinced now that it was best for them to train the Gold Coast for independence. Nkrumah became the Prime Minister in 1952.

A Nation Is Born

Independence was the pivot of Nkrumah's program, but he wanted more. He asserted that independence was not real if a

country was economically dependent upon other nations. Also, he held that democracy was indivisible, and that political democracy was a mere sham unless accompanied also by a measure of economic equality at a reasonably satisfactory level. The Gold Coast was rich in natural resources; the problem, as Nkrumah saw it, was to convert this into higher per-capita incomes for the people. He called himself a socialist, but his friends spoke of him as a "capitalist in a hurry." He wanted to have no basic break with the prevailing system.

The training period over, Britain acknowledged the independence of the Gold Coast in 1957. It remained within the British Commonwealth, as a fully sovereign state. Would the people of this region, subject to foreign domination for centuries, be able to assume the responsibility of governing themselves? Promptly, Prime Minister Nkrumah set out to modernize the country. He emphasized that economic development was of paramount importance, and that this, in turn, called for a measure of industrialization. Much needed electric power, the basis of industrialization, was to be provided by an ambitious hydroelectric power project on the River Volta.

To obtain outside aid, Ghana undertook a novel experiment by entering into an agreement with the Israeli government. Israel contracted to help industrialize Ghana, to carry out a program of soil improvement, and to run a new steamship company, the Black Star Line. While Israel is a small country, much smaller than Ghana, the Israeli are economically and technically far more advanced. The advantage of this arrangement is that Ghana may be able to obtain some of the help she needs without remaining attached to the apron strings of the great powers, whose imperialist record has not been forgotten.

An "Uncommitted" Policy in Foreign Affairs

There was much interest over the question of where the new nation would take its stand in the global competition between East and West. The Prime Minister had a Western education, and his first official visit outside the Old World was to the United States. This was considered significant. At the same time, Nkrumah emphasized that a poor African country could not afford to build up strong armed forces and take an active part in the cold war. All available resources were desperately needed for economic development, to relieve mass poverty. The Western way of life, with its emphasis on personal freedom, appealed to

the new country more than the rigid authoritarianism of communism. None the less, the leaders of Ghana felt that the only practical policy open to them was to remain uncommitted in the cold war and to use whatever influence they had in favor of peace.

Growing Pains of a New Country

Ghana adopted Britain's parliamentary system, with all its pomp and colorful traditions. Critics charged, however, that there was more emphasis on these externals of parliamentarianism than on the reality of democracy. The tribal chiefs, in particular, complained about the abridgment of their historic rights.

In an effort to unify the country, the Prime Minister pushed a bill through Parliament outlawing political parties organized on tribal, religious, and geographic lines. Nkrumah and his supporters argued that this was necessary because a modern state could not function under conditions of divided loyalties. Opponents answered that the effect of such measures was to curtail free political groupings and to solidify Nkrumah's personal power. The Prime Minister lent some substance to these complaints when he arbitrarily deported several prominent leaders of opposition groups. Also, he seemed, in some respects, to be developing a "cult of personality," with himself as the central figure. For example, a large statue of him was to be erected outside Parliament House, and his image was to appear on postage stamps and coins.

Still, the vital fact remained that a former colony in Black Africa had become an independent state and was governing itself without the help or interference of outsiders. This example was not overlooked in neighboring French territories, in the Belgian Congo, and even in South Africa. Should Ghana prosper and show real political stability, the freedom movement everywhere in Africa will be greatly encouraged.

NOTE: In November, 1958, Ghana and the newly constituted Republic of Guinea (formerly a French colony—page 45) announced their confederation into a "united Republic." The two regions are about 350 miles apart at their nearest point. Between them is the Ivory Coast, part of France's African empire. The official statement indicated that other West African states would be welcomed into this union.

NORTH OF THE "DRY OCEAN"—MOROCCO

The "Island of the West"

Now we turn to the independent nations of Africa north of the Sahara Desert. We shall begin with Morocco. The Arabs call this country the "Farthest West"—*Maghreb-el-Akhsa*. When they refer to the entire inter-related region of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, they speak picturesquely of the "Island of the West"—*Gezirah el-Maghreb*. An island it is, in a sense, for it is surrounded by both wet and dry seas. And the dry one, as we have seen is far more isolating than the bodies of water.

Basic Facts About Morocco

Morocco has an area of 172,109 square miles, somewhat larger than California. Its population is roughly 9 million. The country has great mineral wealth, producing considerable amounts of



phosphates, manganese, copper, lead, iron, coal, and tin. There are undoubtedly many important deposits not yet developed, or even explored. Agricultural products include grains, aromatic seeds, and gums, as well as skins, hides, and wool. There has been some industrial development in such fields as textiles, chemicals, food products, machines, and metallurgy. These industries, for the most part, process local products.

The population of Morocco is mixed—Arabs and Berbers—but they are all Muslims. The country is saturated with Arab culture and is a member of the Arab League. Its educated classes speak French, sometimes better than Arabic, affect French manners and have a strongly Europeanized outlook. As elsewhere along the North African coast, there is an admixture of other European and Negro blood.

Morocco is of world importance because of its strategic location. It is both an Atlantic and a Mediterranean nation, and it faces the Strait of Gibraltar, a key link in the Western life-line. It was from Morocco that the Allies launched major attacks against the Axis in World War II. Today, the United States has four giant

air bases and a naval base in Morocco. Moroccan nationalists have been talking of "unconditional and total" evacuation of United States bases, as well as of remaining French and Spanish troops. The United States, however, is reluctant to surrender its Moroccan bases. Nor are all Moroccan leaders eager to see these installations removed, for the United States armed forces spend about 35 million dollars a year in this country.

From Muslim Kingdom to European Protectorate

Few countries in Africa or elsewhere have had a more chaotic history than Morocco. In the distant past this land was ruled by the Romans and barbarians. Then came the Muslims, who brought the region its religion and much of its distinctive culture. The Muslim dynasties centered in Morocco at one time ruled even over parts of Spain. The Turks moved eventually in this direction, but Morocco eluded them. The family of the present King has ruled over Morocco intermittently since 1640.

Morocco, along with the entire North African coast, became a stronghold of pirates early in the 19th century. After that, it remained in a condition of virtual anarchy, with no stable or unified government. Somewhat surprisingly, the nations of Europe kept their hands off Morocco for many years, probably because they feared that any attempt to annex the strategic area would lead to a war among themselves. Finally, an agreement between Great Britain and France enabled the latter to establish a protectorate over Morocco (1912). A small area opposite Gibraltar was assigned to Spain. Germany objected strongly, but she was assuaged by a cession of territory in French Equatorial Africa.

The first resident general of Morocco was one of the great figures in modern colonial history—General Louis Lyautey. He gave Morocco an orderly government, improved economic conditions, built modern cities, and established railways, ports, and roads. Above all, he understood the psychology of the Moroccan people, was able to assert his authority and carry out his program with a minimum of friction.

Morocco was called a protectorate, rather than a colony. The Sultan remained on the throne, but he was no more than a figurehead. The real rulers were the French officials, and not all of them were as tactful or as able as Lyautey.

In the Spanish-controlled part of Morocco, dissatisfaction erupted into a revolt in the early 1920's. The natives in the rugged Riff Mountains organized under a doughty warrior, Abd-el-Krim

and achieved the "impossible" by repeatedly defeating the Spaniards. Spain then appealed to France for help. It was only through the combined efforts of these two European countries that the Riff tribesmen were finally subdued in 1926.

Nationalism and Independence

The succession to the Moroccan throne was not firmly established, and in 1927 the French selected an ineffectual young man, Mohammed V, to be the Sultan. He reigned for many years as a pliant tool of the French administration.

Exposed as Morocco was to Western influence, nationalism struck it quickly. This movement expressed itself mainly through the *Istiqal*, the Party of Independence. France's crushing defeat in World War II, exposed her weakness, and this had the effect of increasing the agitation for Moroccan independence. Under the impact of this movement, the formerly pliable ruler was no longer content to remain a foreign tool. The French thereupon packed up the Sultan in August, 1953 and exiled him to Madagascar. In his place, they selected his uncle, a doddering old man who took the name of Mohammed VI. This rather pathetic "ruler" dutifully signed all the papers set before him and did whatever else was required by the French.

Moroccan public opinion, however, rejected this transparent move. Pressure increased to such an extent that the French had to allow Mohammed V to return. The historic day was November 5, 1955. With this vital concession, it was clear that the days of French rule were numbered.

Morocco, unlike Algeria, has few European settlers. Thus the counter-pressure to withhold full national independence was not strong. Finally, on March 2, 1956, the protectorate was terminated. Morocco became an independent country, although the French retained several bases. Subsequently, the Spanish signed a similar agreement. The Sultan of Morocco assumed the title of King.

The new government quickly introduced a program to raise the low standard of living by increasing agricultural production. One phase of this, called "Operation Tractor," stressed the use of modern farm machinery. Agricultural cooperatives were set up to organize effective use of such machines. Fertilizers and better-grade seeds were introduced.

Another aim of the young kingdom was the unification of Arab North Africa and the restoration of Saharan territories to Mo-

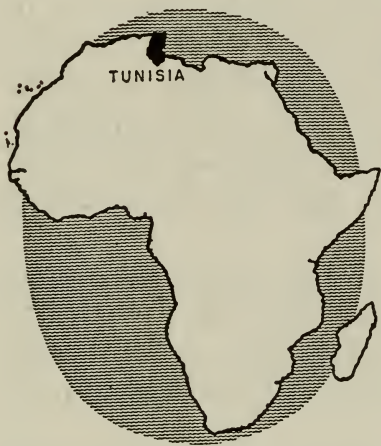
rocco. A sign of this "Greater North Africa" movement was the presence of Algerian, Tunisian, and Mauretanian delegations at the opening of the Moroccan National Consultative Council (an appointed body) in the fall of 1958.

NOTE: In 1956, Morocco took over the city of *Tangier* and the surrounding area, which had formerly been governed as a "free city" under international control. Tangier is well known as a commercial and banking center.

TUNISIA—HANNIBAL'S COUNTRY

Main Facts About Tunisia

Now we turn to Tunisia, one of Africa's smallest countries. It has an area of 48,313 square miles, about the size of Louisiana, with a population of roughly 4 million. This region served as one of the granaries of ancient Rome. Even more important, it was the home territory of Rome's most formidable enemies, the Carthaginians, and of their great leader, Hannibal.



Today, Tunisia still has stretches of fertile soil, producing wheat, barley, oats, olives, citrus fruits, grapes, dates, almonds, and cork. Industrially, however, the country is extremely backward.

The bulk of the population of Tunisia is Muslim and thoroughly Arabized, regardless of origin. About a quarter of a million Europeans live here, including Frenchmen, Italians, and others. Here, as elsewhere in North Africa, most educated non-Europeans speak French fluently and show the influence of French culture.

The French Protectorate

In the spring of 1881, the French occupied Tunisia, and in 1883 the land officially became a French protectorate. The native ruler, or *Bey*, pledged himself to undertake the administrative, judicial, and financial reforms which the French government "suggested." In effect, the French were in charge of affairs, but found it advantageous to work through the native ruler. The Italians, who had

long had their eye on this region, grumbled but took no decisive action.

The land had been neglected, and the French set out to improve it, building ports and dams and introducing sanitary measures. One result of these improvements was that the population rose quickly.

In the wake of World War I, nationalism emerged in Tunisia. There was the usual demand for self-government and independence. This movement was spearheaded by the Constitution (*Destour*) Party, a generally conservative group, in spite of its opposition to foreign rule. A decade later there came into existence the *Neo-Destour Party*, more liberal in its methods and objectives. Its founder and leader was a French-trained Tunisian attorney named Habib Bourguiba, married to a Frenchwoman.

Tunisia Becomes Independent

In Franco-Tunisian relations, as elsewhere in French Africa, the great change occurred soon after World War II. The pressure on France increased, and gradually the Tunisians received a larger measure of self-government. Then, in the summer of 1954, France's Premier, the liberal-minded Pierre Mendès-France, recognized Tunisia's right to independence. A year later Bourguiba returned in triumph to the capital city of Tunis to head the new government. On March 20, 1956, Tunisian independence was proclaimed. The Bey was ousted without bloodshed and a republic was established, with Bourguiba as President. A program was announced to improve economic conditions, education, sanitation, and public health. It is too early, as yet, to judge the results.

Bourguiba believed that the best long-term solution for the problems of his little country would be a "federation with Algeria, possibly with Morocco, perhaps with Libya." Beyond this, he expressed interest in cooperation among the nations of the Mediterranean, including those in Europe. "The Arabs are brothers," he said, "but we look toward the West."

LIBYA—A DESERT KINGDOM

Large, Sparsely Populated, and Poor

Now we turn to Libya, another of the newly independent countries of Africa. Located between Egypt and Tunisia, it has a large area (about 680,000 square miles) but a sparse population of less than 1½ millions. Few countries, even in Africa, are so poorly endowed with natural resources. Indeed, about 85% of the entire land is desert.



Most of the people in Libya are farmers, growing citrus fruits, dates, almonds, and the reed-like esparto grass, used to make fine papers. There is some raising of sheep, as well as fishing for tunny and sponges. The general level of the economy is extremely primitive, and the average

per-capita income of the Libyan people is one of the lowest in the world.

With foreign help, the Libyan government has been trying to introduce some improvements. The most ambitious of these undertakings have been the attempts to build dams to capture the rainy season flash floods, which normally flow off into the sea without doing any good to the soil. All mineral resources were nationalized in 1953, but actual development thus far has been highly limited.

Two Major Regions

Libya consists mainly of two well-defined regions—*Tripolitania* in the northwest, with about 69% of the population; and *Cyrenaica* in the northeast, with about 27%. There are marked differences in the backgrounds of these two regions and in their ways of life.

Because of this lack of unity, the country has two capitals, *Tripoli* in Tripolitania and *Benghazi* in Cyrenaica, 640 miles east. This is a strange state of affairs, and even stranger is the fact that when a traveler crosses the "boundaries" of these two regions within the same country, he is subjected to a thorough immigration and customs inspection.

Social Conditions Are Bad

Libya has a higher rate of illiteracy than any other country in North Africa, with some 90% of the people unable to read and write, as recently as 1957. At that time, there were only 14 college graduates in the entire country, and fewer than 5000 had had as much as five years of schooling. The rate of infant mortality was among the highest in the world.

The conditions prevailing in Libya may be considered the heritage of colonialism, and they represent European imperialism at its worst. On the other hand, it would be over-optimistic to suppose that the achievement of independence, in itself, will lead to a marked improvement in this sad state of affairs.

Libya in World War II

Libya for many years was part of the domain of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish control was extremely shaky, but this part of North Africa had so little to offer that no major power even bothered to take it over. Finally, in 1911-1912, Italy moved in, as part of her ill-fated efforts to build an African empire. Libya became Italian territory, but it was difficult to see how this benefited the people of either the colony or the "mother country."

Libya re-entered the mainstream of world history in World War II. Libyan territory was the scene of some of the crucial battles between the Allies and the Axis powers for possession of Egypt and the Suez Canal.

Libya Becomes an Independent State

The victory over the German *Afrikacorps* left the British in control of Libya. They had no desire, however, to take over this country, and it was obviously impossible to return it to Italy, the junior Axis partner.

After the close of the war, the problem was thrown into the lap of the United Nations. The UN gave its approval to setting up Libya as an independent nation. A constituent assembly in Libya decided on a constitutional monarchy and chose as the ruler the Emir of Cyrenaica, Mohammed Idris el Senussi. He ascended the throne in February, 1952, as King Idris I.

Libya became a member of the UN in 1955. Even before this, it was admitted to the Arab League. The population, it should be noted, consists more than 90% of nomadic Muslims, and it is basically an Arab country.

The Troubles of Nationhood

Because of the scarcity of educated Libyans, most of the government posts at first had to be filled by foreigners, chiefly British. There was admittedly a long way to go to create a unified, self-governing, self-supporting state. This goal has by no means been achieved in the years since independence. The United States and Britain have helped Libya financially with direct grants which have covered a large part of the expenses of the new nation. The Libyan government has also obtained foreign aid, mostly British, to finance a five-year plan for improving agriculture. The United States has set up Wheelus Field, our largest air base outside our own territory, just a few miles from the city of Tripoli. This installation has pumped badly needed funds into the feeble Libyan economy.

Without such outside assistance, it seemed doubtful that Libya would be able to stand on its own feet and assume the obligations of an independent nation. Indeed, its status as a sovereign state seemed to be more a matter of "paper agreements" among the powers than of a functioning reality.

ETHIOPIA—HIGHLANDS AND INDEPENDENCE

Some Basic Facts

Ethiopia is the one country of Africa which has been able to maintain its independence continuously, with the exception of a brief interlude under Italian rule. It has been assisted in this by its mountainous terrain, its able rulers, its fierce warriors, and above all the jealousies of the great powers.

Ethiopia is a particularly beautiful country, with magnificent vistas of high peaks and verdant mountain slopes. Its area is about 350,000 square miles, as much as most of Western Europe, with an additional 48,350 square miles if we add Eritrea, with which it is federated. Estimates of the population range widely—and somewhat wildly—from 10 million to 20 million. United States government officials incline toward the compromise figure of roughly 16½ million.

Because of its generally high altitude, rising to 9000 feet in some sectors, much of Ethiopia's climate is healthful. A large variety of products is raised on its soil, including cotton, sugar cane, rubber, and grapes. The most important crop, however, is

coffee, from which more than half of the country's foreign exchange is derived. More than 50% of Ethiopia's green coffee production is sold in the United States.

It is possible that Ethiopia has other valuable resources, but much of the land is inaccessible, and there has been little exploration for mineral wealth. Various parts of the country are known to have deposits of gold and silver, copper, manganese, sulfur, potash, coal and iron, mica, and tin.

Ethiopia Means "Burned Face"

The literal meaning of *Ethiopia* (which comes from the Greek) is "burned face." The country was formerly known as *Abyssinia*. This name, which has an Arab origin, is now frowned on by most citizens of the country and is no longer commonly used.



Ethiopians in general are dark-skinned, but they do not consider themselves Negroes, and many of them do not have typically Negroid features. Their racial background is extremely mixed, including the Hamitic people (related to the early Egyptians) who lived there in ancient times, Semitic invaders, and waves of Nilotic immigrants from the Sudan.

There are several well-defined groups in the population today. The rugged terrain and the lack of transportation facilities have helped to keep them separate. The most influential (although not the largest) single group speaks Amharic, a Semitic language, related to Arabic and Hebrew. Various other languages, both Semitic and Hamitic are spoken.

Religion in Ethiopia

The religious situation in Ethiopia is unique for a part of the world where Islam is dominant. Most of the people (estimates range between half and three-quarters) are Christian. Moreover, the Christianity which prevails here was not introduced recently by missionaries but goes back to the earliest days of the Church. The sect to which the Ethiopian Christians belong is the Coptic Church. This is the same form of Christianity as is found in Egypt, but there it is a small minority. The effective head of

this church in Ethiopia is the Emperor himself, who nominates the top religious functionary. This official, however, has to be confirmed by the Patriarch of the Coptic Church in Egypt.

Islam, although less widespread than Christianity, is a powerful force in Ethiopia. Important areas, including the Emperor's home province of Harar, are largely Muslim. The Muslims, like other minorities, have full religious freedom and are considered loyal Ethiopian citizens.

A Dramatic History

The official name of Ethiopia indicates the paramount role of the ruler: *Ye Etiopia Neguse Neguest Menguist*, "Government of the Ethiopian King of Kings." The country is an "empire" under the rule of Haile Selassie I, who bears such titles as "Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, King of Kings, Elect of God." Born in 1891, he was crowned King (*Negus*) in 1928, and Emperor ("King of Kings") in 1930. The unusual imperial title has its roots in Ethiopia's long and dramatic history.

Tradition holds that Ethiopia's ruling dynasty owes its existence to the union of the Biblical King Solomon with the Queen of Sheba. To this very day the Ethiopians call the Red Sea "Sheba's Sea." One of the strongest realms in ancient Africa, Ethiopia extended westward into the Sudan. Christianity was introduced into the country, according to local tradition, by St. Frumentius, who suffered shipwreck in the Red Sea around 340.

There followed a period of many centuries during which the history of Ethiopia was obscure, disordered, and with little impact on the outside world. Order on a national basis was not restored until the latter part of the 19th century. This was the achievement of an able warrior and statesman Menelik II, King of Shoa (a province of Ethiopia). It was during his reign that Italy, trying to emulate the great powers by building an African empire, struck at Ethiopia. Thus far events had followed the usual imperialist "script." But what ensued was entirely unexpected. The "uncivilized" Africans under Menelik struck back at the invading Italians and administered a resounding defeat to them at the Battle of Aduwa in northern Ethiopia (1896).

Ethiopia Falls Victim to Fascist Aggression

Benito Mussolini, Italy's Fascist dictator in the period between the two World Wars, was determined to "restore the glories" of the ancient Roman Empire. Looking about for some victims for

his ambitions, he decided on Ethiopia, then the only fully independent and unprotected state in Africa. Ethiopia lay between Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, Italy's two colonies in northeast Africa. By taking it over, Italy would control a large and continuous expanse of African territory. Moreover, by defeating the Ethiopians, the Fascist government would be avenging the humiliating defeat at Aduwa.

The Italian invasion began in October, 1935. Emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations for aid. The League did take some action, but it was half-hearted and did little or nothing to stop the Italians. The only significant effect of the League's policy, indeed, was to anger Mussolini and to throw him into an alliance with Hitler.

This time, the primitively armed Ethiopian tribesmen were no match for the Italians, with their planes, tanks, and artillery. Within a few months, Ethiopia was conquered and became part of the "Italian Empire."

Ethiopia Is Restored as an Independent Nation

Although the Germans won crushing victories in Europe in the early years of World War II, the British were successful against the Italians in Africa. By 1941, British forces controlled Ethiopia, and Haile Selassie was restored to his throne.

The work of reconstruction did not begin in earnest until after the close of the war. There was (and still is) a tremendous job to be done before Ethiopia could truly become part of the modern world. For one thing, transportation facilities were so primitive that the outlying areas were only loosely linked to the administrative center at Addis Ababa, the capital. The population was largely illiterate, according to some estimates up to 90%. Various diseases were widespread. Production was low, and most people lived in grinding poverty.

Wisely, the Emperor asked the help of other countries and of international organizations. The United States government, other foreign governments, the Export-Import Bank in Washington, and the World Bank all provided assistance. This took the form of financial loans and grants and the services of experts in such fields as agriculture, public health, and road-building.

On the political front, Emperor Haile Selassie has continued to occupy a position of overwhelming prestige and authority. Since his restoration to the throne, as before, he has wielded virtually absolute power. He has a Cabinet, but he is his own Prime

Minister; he has a Parliament, but he makes his own laws and appropriates his own funds. His birthday is the national holiday. All in all, he is surrounded by an atmosphere of Oriental pomp and grandeur such as probably does not exist anywhere else in the world today. In all fairness, however, it should be said that he has, in general, tried to use his vast powers to promote the welfare of his people and that he has shown considerable ability. He appears to be genuinely popular with the Ethiopian people.

In 1957, national elections were held in Ethiopia for a Chamber of Deputies. Both men and women voted, and members of both sexes could be candidates. The election was hailed as an important advance, but basically it probably did not disturb the Emperor's control of affairs. By the time this election was held, however, the Emperor was in his late 60's, and observers were wondering what would happen to the country when, in the normal course of events, he inevitably passed from the scene.

In late 1960, while the Emperor was away on a state visit in Brazil, a revolt flared up in his capital, sparked—it appears—by members of his palace guard. The ruler's swift return to his country turned the tide in his favor and the revolt petered out.

Federation with Eritrea

Eritrea was Italy's first colony in its ill-fated efforts to build an African empire. It has an area of 48,350 square miles and a population estimated at about 1,080,000.

After World War II, Eritrea was separated from Italy. In 1952, the UN decided that it should be federated with the Empire of Ethiopia as an autonomous unit.

EGYPT (THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC)

The Temporary Union of Egypt and Syria

The United Arab Republic was created in 1958 by the union of Egypt and Syria. Syria broke away from the union in September, 1961, but Egypt retained the name of "United Arab Republic."

Egypt, by far the larger and more important of the two former partners, is located in Africa. Syria is in the Middle East,*

* For a detailed study of the United Arab Republic and other states in the Middle East, the student is referred to *The Changing Middle East* by Emil Lengyel (Oxford Book Company, 1960).

which is really part of Asia. Our discussion here, accordingly, will be limited to Egypt.

The pyramid-building Egyptians of ancient times were a Hamitic people. Those of today are considered Semites, since they speak a Semitic language. The great change occurred when the Arabs in the 7th century A.D. engulfed the southern Mediterranean region, including Egypt.

The Turks, the British, and Independence

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Ottoman Turks conquered Egypt. Their language and culture were very different from those of the Arabs. The Turkish conquerors were ruthless and powerful. Yet they were unable to do what the Arabs had done. In spite of centuries of Turkish rule, the Egyptians clung firmly to their Arab heritage.

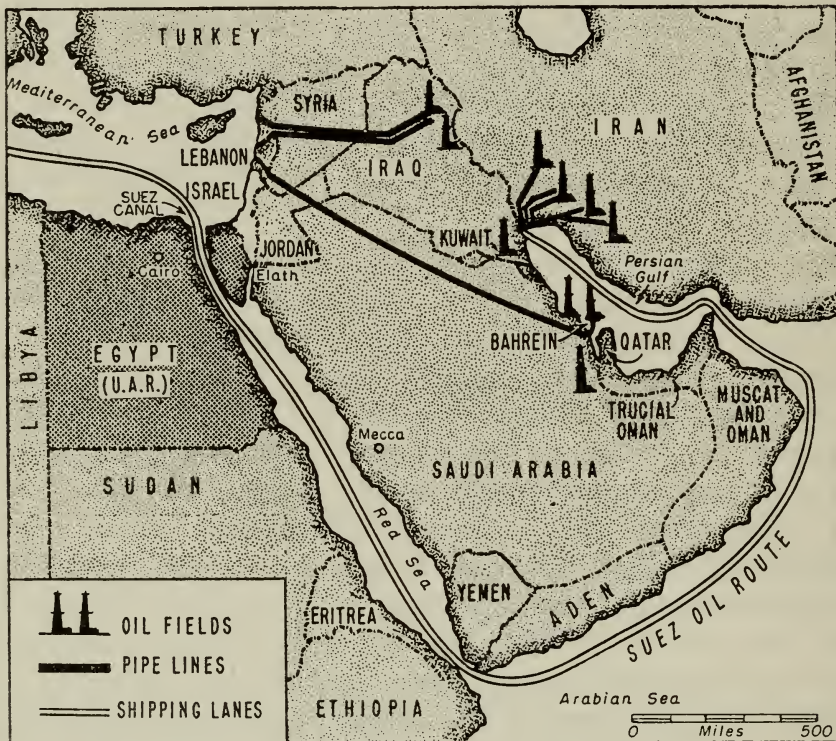
As the Turkish power ran down, the British occupied Egypt in 1882, in order to secure the flank of their imperial lifeline to the East. Egypt was converted into a British protectorate, although the Egyptian monarch continued to occupy the throne as nominal ruler. After the close of World War I, the rising tide of nationalism caused the British to loosen their hold on Egypt, and they gave the Egyptians some measure of control over their internal affairs. Meanwhile, the two countries remained "allies." During World War II, Britain and other Allied nations used Egypt as the principal base for their armed forces in the strategic Middle East.

After the end of the war, the remaining British authority in Egypt was slowly but surely decreased to the vanishing point. Meanwhile, Egypt assumed the leadership in the Arab League, comprising the independent Arab countries of the Middle East. The Kingdom of Egypt took part in the war against Israel in 1948, which revealed the fatal weakness of the regime headed by dissolute King Farouk I. It was mainly as a result of the shock of this defeat and the attendant scandals, that dissatisfied army officers staged a bloodless revolution against the royal regime in the summer of 1952. The King was forced to abdicate.

Nasser—"The Victorious One"

The nominal head of the revolution, General Mohammed Naguib served as President of Egypt during a period of transition. Then power was seized, again bloodlessly, by one of the real revolutionary leaders, Lieutenant-Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser,

at first Premier and then President of the Republic of Egypt. He was confirmed by a nominal election in 1956, in which there was no opposition candidate. "Nasser" in Arabic means "The Victorious One," and the President's fanatical followers were sure that this was an omen of their leader's "destiny" to overcome all opposition at home, and to bring about unification of the Arab world. Nasser's prestige reached a new high in the same summer of 1956, when the British evacuated their last foothold in Egypt, in the Suez Canal region.



This map shows the strategic position of Egypt with relation to the Suez Canal and the vital oil resources of the Middle East.

With this triumph under his belt, Nasser faced the even greater problem of redeeming his pledge to improve the economic conditions of the miserably poor *fellaheen*, the peasants of Egypt. The country desperately needed more arable land, and the regime planned to reclaim an additional two million acres along the Nile. To do this, it was necessary to construct a great dam (the "High Dam") on the Nile River at Asswan. Egypt was unable to finance this alone, and hoped to gain financial help from the World Bank, as well as from the United States and Britain. By this time, how-

ever, Nasser was arranging deals with the Soviet Union, and the United States and Britain cancelled their offers of aid.

In retaliation, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, with the announcement that profits from its operation would be used for the construction of the High Dam. The Canal was the property of a Franco-Egyptian private company in which the British government held the largest single bloc of stock. Britain and France protested against this high-handed action and, after negotiations to reach a settlement with Nasser had failed, sent troops into Egypt. A few days before, Israel began a military campaign in the Sinai Peninsula in order to clear up nests of Egyptian terrorists (*fedayeen*), who had been staging raids into Israeli territory. The United States and the Soviet Union opposed these actions—for different reasons—and, acting through the United Nations, forced the three powers to withdraw. The Egyptians regarded this as a major political victory for Nasser, even though his forces had been ignominiously defeated everywhere, especially by the small Israeli army.

But in spite of Nasser's resounding political triumphs, he was still far from finding a solution to Egypt's pressing economic problems. It was generally agreed that the ultimate fate of the Nasser regime and of its ambitious political plans would be decided by its success in providing a better life for the millions of Egyptians living on the verge of starvation.

"Sudan" Means Black

South of Egypt, the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan voted for independence and became a sovereign state in 1956. The name "Sudan" means black, and indeed the country stretches southward into "Black Africa," while the top of it is "white." Only about 39% of the people speak Arabic, but 72% are Muslims. The country is nearly a million square miles in area, with a population estimated at close to 10½ million. There is a wide variety of soil and climatic conditions. Much of the land is desert or grassland, but there are also extensive tropical rain forests.

After gaining its independence, the new country joined the UN and the Arab League. It became a republic under a five-member council of state, but the real power was in the hands of the Prime Minister. The Sudanese economy was limited, with about 70% of all its foreign exchange coming from exports of long-staple cotton. Much economic help was needed, and this gradually became available from both the UN and the United States.

The leadership of the country appeared to be efficient, and it got off to a good start. It did, however, face a difficult problem in reconciling the interests of its "two worlds," the North and South. The former has a predominantly Arab civilization, while the latter has a more simple social structure along tribal lines. The link between them is the Nile. It remained to be seen if these two regions could be truly unified and work together to create a prosperous, modern state.

In November, 1958, leaders of Sudan's armed forces, headed by General Ibrahim Abboud, wrested power from the hands of a weak coalition cabinet. Poor economic conditions, as well as inefficiency and corruption in the government, were given as the reasons for the *coup*. This development was in line with an "anti-parliamentary" trend which had seen military leaders take over control of governments in key countries of the Arab world.

THINGS TO DO

1. An American journalist recently questioned an old-line French colonial official on what he thought of the white leaders of the Union of South Africa. The Frenchman answered, "They are the greatest danger to the white man ever known on this continent because they will make Africans everywhere in Africa anti-white."

Discuss this statement. Explain why the Afrikaner racial policy may be opposed not only because it is unfair to the native people but also because it is disadvantageous for the whites.

2. *A Time to Speak*, by Michael Scott (Doubleday, 1958) is the autobiography of a clergyman who organized the African Bureau in London as defense headquarters for the oppressed people of South Africa and Africa generally. Read the book and see if you agree with the author's approach to this most difficult problem.

3. *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (Nelson, 1957) describes both Nkrumah's personal struggles and Ghana's struggle for independence. To what extent do these two stories overlap?

4. Richard Wright, an American Negro writer, tells the story of Nkrumah in *Black Power* (Harper, 1954). How does his picture of this African leader compare with the one given by the autobiography?

6. There has been some talk about unifying or confederating North Africa into a single political unit. Discuss such a development from the standpoints of (a) economic desirability, and (b) political feasibility.

7. President Nasser of the United Arab Republic has indicated that he hopes to unite all the Arab countries. Do you see any similarities between Nasser's program and the creation of the United States of America from thirteen distinct colonies? Do you see any differences? Organize a round-table discussion of these questions.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION—AFRICA AND THE WORLD

Africa's Growing Importance to the United States

America's relations with Africa, as we have seen, go back hundreds of years, but they have never received more attention than they do today. The importance which our government attaches to the "New Africa," on its way to becoming a continent of independent nations, has been shown in many different ways. Until recently, one Assistant Secretary of State headed an office dealing with African, Near Eastern, and South-East Asian affairs. In July, 1958, Congress authorized the President to name an Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. This new official was to head a large staff in Africa and in Washington.

Our diplomatic representation in Africa has increased greatly. In 1946, the only African countries to which we sent ambassadors (the highest rank of foreign-service officers) were Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, and the Union of South Africa. By 1959, we had ambassadors not only in these countries but also in Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Ghana, and the Sudan. It was expected that Nigeria, Somalia, and perhaps other states as well, would receive ambassadors from us as soon as they became officially sovereign. The number of our consulates in Africa has also increased markedly—a clear indication of hopes of increasing our trade and other economic relations in this part of the world.

In recognition of the enhanced importance of Africa, the "Voice of America" doubled the length of its daily transmission to that continent, beginning with the summer of 1958. The United States Information Service in Africa also published a magazine (*American Outlook*), set up classes in English, ran public libraries, distributed movies and pamphlets about American life, and increased its information and cultural activities in other ways.

Economic Relations with Africa

"...American trade and American interest," Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana pointed out in 1958 "have steadily increased in Africa since the war. Exports, for instance, have quintupled, and all responsible African leaders wish to extend

this trend on the basis of reciprocity and equality. It is the surest guarantee of permanent friendship between Africa and the West."

We can do no more here than touch briefly upon the new economic links between the United States and Africa. Here are a few highlights: United States trade with Africa totaled more than 1.2 billion dollars in 1956, representing 4.5% of all our imports and 3.3% of our exports. The value of American investments in Africa (not including Egypt and the Sudan) was approaching 600 million dollars, mostly in Liberia and South Africa. This, of course, is not much in comparison with the roughly 5 billion dollars which the older colonizing powers have invested in sub-Sahara Africa alone.

Africa has received economic and military aid from the United States under our foreign-aid program. Also, we have sent teams of experts to African countries to give them practical help in increasing production in industry and agriculture, and in solving other economic problems. This is under the famous "Point Four" program of aid to underdeveloped countries, now administered by the Technical Cooperation Administration. Our overall foreign-aid program for 1959 earmarked about 105 million dollars for Africa.

Economic Aid by the United Nations

Our Point Four activities in Africa have a close parallel in the UN Technical Assistance Program. UN technical assistance has been particularly effective in the newly independent countries of Africa—Morocco, Ghana, Tunisia and the Sudan.

Among the Specialized Agencies of the UN, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has been particularly active in Africa, since most African countries are engaged primarily in agriculture. The program has concentrated on soil improvement, irrigation, and distribution of farm products. Other important projects have included village development, sanitation, education, and encouragement of specialized local industries, such as fishing.

Communism and Africa

Vice-President Nixon in his Report to the President after a trip to Africa in 1957 made the following statement: "Africa is a priority target for the international communist movement. I gathered the distinct impression that the communist leaders consider Africa today as important in their designs for world

conquest as they considered China to be 25 years ago. Consequently, they are mounting a diplomatic, propaganda, and economic offensive in all parts of the continent. They are trying desperately to convince the peoples of Africa that they support more strongly than we do their natural aspirations for independence, equality, and economic progress."

Then the Vice-President added: "Fortunately, their efforts thus far have not been generally successful and, for the present, communist domination in the states of the area is not a danger."

How much influence does communism have in Africa? It is possible, although this cannot be proved, that communist groups have some strength in Algeria, Tunisia, and parts of French West Africa. Communism is outlawed in the Egyptian region of the United Arab Republic, but the UAR has received arms, technical aid, and diplomatic support from the Soviet bloc. "Communist agitation" is constantly being denounced in South Africa, but the term is used there in a sense which suggests nothing more than opposition to the government's extremist race program.

The Soviet Union, for its own purposes, loudly approves of all anti-colonial nationalist movements in Africa. There is good reason to believe that the Soviets hope to use the explosive force of nationalism to promote the communist program and ideology. But that is a long-term objective. Meanwhile the Kremlin is happy to do all it can to cause trouble and embarrassment for the Western powers. In this campaign, Soviet propagandists are aided by the fact that Russia has never had any colonies in Africa, while Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain (all on our side in the cold war) still have them. The typical African knows British or French imperialism at first hand, but he has heard only vaguely, if at all, of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe. The Russians play up this advantage for all it is worth.

All this merits our attention, but it certainly does not mean that the desire of Africans for "independence, equality, and economic progress" is communist inspired or directed. Virtually all qualified observers, as Vice-President Nixon has suggested, agree that this is not the case. A fair judgment would seem to be this statement, by two well-known writers * on international affairs: "Thus far, communism has not been a significant force in African nationalist movements, and it would be an inexcusable error to ascribe the African awakening to communist agitation."

* Norman D. Palmer and Howard C. Perkins, *International Affairs* (Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

The Problems of Africa

The changes which have overwhelmed Africa within a few years, including the emergence of so many new states, probably have no parallel in the history of the world. But the progressive elimination of colonial domination does not mean that Africa has solved its problems. The key difficulties that Africa faces today may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. Much of Africa lives in tribal civilizations. How are the tradition-bound tribes to be fitted into the framework of modern nation-states?
2. The new nations have a babel of languages—some 250 in Nigeria alone. How can countries whose people use so many tongues achieve unity and efficient government?
3. National democracy is unknown to most of Africa, although tribal democracy is widespread. Will the new governments be turned into instruments of “strong men,” or will they find effective ways of insuring popular control and human rights?
4. For the most part, the frontiers of the new countries follow the lines of the old colonial empires. Thus, many of these national boundaries, as they now exist, are wholly artificial, in terms of economic and social needs. To overcome this difficulty, will there be a process of voluntary combination or federation? Or will some of the new Africa nations develop expansionist-imperialist tendencies of their own?
5. The new countries are eager to raise living standards, but their capital resources are not adequate to do so. Will they be able to make up this deficiency without again falling under foreign influence?
6. What will happen if the expected higher living standards should fail to materialize? Would the disappointed hopes cause new disturbances?
7. Where will the African countries line up in the cold war, should it continue? How fertile a ground is Africa for Communism?

Both the United Nations and the United States have been awakened to the importance of Africa. Quickly, the UN established the “Organization of the United Nations in the Congo” to deal with that country’s problems, and this may have constituted an important precedent. The administration of President John F. Kennedy gave a high priority to African affairs. Even before his inauguration, the new President appointed a top-flight official, Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, as his Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

The years immediately ahead represent a critical period. Africa is in ferment and therefore explosive. It can no longer be neglected, dominated, or exploited.



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